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THE NATION

SEPTEMBER 21, 1974

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BUT WHO WILL PARDON FORD?/ CAREY McWILLIAMS



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National Rivalries Put Out to Sea

**Double Standard
HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE U.N.**

Rep. Donald M. Fraser

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LETTERS

complaint from the AEC

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: At the same time the August 3rd issue of *The Nation* arrived, we also received copy of a news release from the insurance pools which provide liability insurance to the nuclear industry. The announcement from the insurance pools said:

The extraordinary safety record of the nuclear industry prompts additional premium refunds of \$1,434,580 from the two American nuclear liability insurance pools. . . . Since the commencement of their operation in 1957, neither pool has ever received a claim arising from the operation of a nuclear reactor. They note that the good safety record of their insureds is without parallel in other industries. The safety record, they said, continues to confirm the effectiveness of the safety measures taken to protect the public. . . .

What a contrast to the tone of *The Nation's* article "The Hot River Valley" by McKinley C. Olson.

The author says plutonium-239 is "the most dangerous substance ever handled by man." While we do not minimize the hazard potential of plutonium if improperly handled, it certainly is not "the most dangerous" substance. The article goes on to say that "A spoonful of plutonium dioxide particles, if dispersed in the air, is enough to kill millions of people." The impossibility of dispersing the plutonium so that it gets to millions of people is totally ignored. As is the fact that chlorine gas and many other hazardous and toxic substances in common use would also, if spread around, kill millions of people.

Mr. Olson goes on to report that the basic shortcomings of AEC plant hearings are that they do not provide a forum for debating the issue of nuclear power as such. The purpose of individual plant hearings is to address environmental and safety issues relative to a specific plant and a specific site.

There are other forums for debating the general issues of nuclear power. No mention is made of the months of public hearings on the general subjects of emergency cooling systems, radiation releases from nuclear plants and the nuclear fuel cycle. And the Congress has considered the nuclear power program since its inception, not only in the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy but also in the appropriations committees which must approve funding and in other committees as well.

Consider also the following statements. The article quotes an AEC licensing official as reporting, quite correctly, that radioactive discharges are monitored at the stack where they leave the plant. "This means that each plant is monitored individually. . . . The anti-nuclear forces in York call this a meaningless standard, saying that the total amount of radioactivity released by all three plants at Peach Bottom is the relevant index. . . ." We agree that the total amount of radioactivity released is what's important, and the way the total amount is kept at the lowest practical level is to control the releases from each plant. That is done by monitors at each plant. For purposes of release of radioactive effluents, the total amount released to the environment from all three plants must meet our regulations. There are not three limits at Peach Bottom; the total release from all three plants must adhere to the single limit.

Similarly, there is a statement, "They've never decommissioned a hot nuclear plant." That is untrue, and a single call to the AEC would have provided the author with information on the decommissioning of several reactors such as Hallam, Pathfinder, Elk River and Fermi I.

These are but a few examples of the incomplete and inaccurate reporting which characterizes this article. There are many others. They include the allegations of Dr. Sternglass which have been rebutted by reputable scientists and public health authorities in his own state. And con-

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EDITORIALS

But Who Will Pardon Ford?

The surprise in President Ford's proclamation of a full, free and absolute pardon to Richard M. Nixon for all offenses—now we may never know how many—committed during his second term had to do with the timing and circumstances. Last week we pointed out that the stage had been set for "an arrangement," although it was not clear then what form it would take. The scenario went like this: Jaworski was free to act but the President would probably issue a pardon if the fugitive at San Clemente could be induced to register a proper measure of contrition. Now we know that Benton L. Becker, a lawyer on the White House staff, was sent to San Clemente to work out the details of what has been called "the whole package deal," including a specific understanding about the tapes. The public has been assured that the Special Prosecutor was not directly consulted, but it is a fair inference that he knew of the deal and approved it. None of this is surprising; what is surprising is that the President should have decided, suddenly and in secret, without consulting the Special Prosecutor or the Attorney General, to issue the proclamation even before an indictment had been returned.

He has thereby created the impression that he would have pardoned Nixon no matter what criminal charges might have been lodged against him or what evidence might have been presented to support them. In effect, the President said that no crimes that Nixon might have committed would, in his judgment, preclude a pardon. Whether intended or not, such an impression reflects a contempt for the system of criminal justice and nearly total insensitivity to the concept of equal justice. Mr. Ford has made a mockery of the impeachment process and the long sequence of Watergate investigations and trials. Indeed, a White House spokesman said that the possibility of pardon for all Watergate defendants—including those found guilty of such offenses as perjury, subornation of perjury and burglary—was under study; Senator Scott was then hastily called in to issue a second-hand statement denying the report!

The timing is a puzzle. The President cited Nixon's health, but this pigeon was quickly shot down. He may have acted before an indictment was returned so that Nixon could remain, for all eternity, "the unindicted co-conspirator." Also a deal arranged after an indictment might have savored too strongly of plea-bargaining and would probably have required a plea of "no contest" or of guilty to a minor charge. There was also the risk that, once the charges were known, with some indication of the evidence to support them, the public would have insisted that the case proceed to trial. It was obvious from the start that the President wanted, at almost any risk, to avoid the political ordeal of a wholly unprecedented, necessarily protracted, and highly sensational trial of a former President—a trial that might jeopardize his chances of election in 1976. Also there was the upcoming trial of Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Mitchell, scheduled for September 30. Enjoying full immunity—except for possible perjury in his testimony—Nixon cannot now plead self-

incrimination. His testimony that the trio acted on his orders is certain to help their defense, and should they be acquitted that, too, would be of political benefit to Ford. Even so, the decision to pardon could have come later. What probably happened is that the President confused his own anxiety to get Nixon and Watergate behind him with the public's willingness to go along.

Whatever the reasons for the timing, the proclamation has dealt a damaging blow to the President's credibility. It is full of the same self-righteous poses to which Nixon was so slavishly addicted. The President acted as a humble servant of God—not for the political reasons that might seem obvious to less devout observers. He acted with courage because he did not consult the pollsters. He spoke of Nixon's "loyal wife" and "loved ones," but said not a word about the loyal wives and loved ones of Dean, Kalmbach, Colson, Krogh, and the others. He spoke of restoring "tranquility" when what he has done is to launch fresh controversy. He expressed doubt that Nixon could receive "equal treatment" along with other citizens, whereas the pardon itself constitutes a denial of equal treatment. That a President who resigned rather than face serious impeachment charges should be pardoned before the wheels of justice could be set in motion on possible criminal offenses is itself an unpardonable offense. The effect is to abort the process of criminal justice. As to the talk about mercy, J. F. terHorst, Mr. Ford's former press aide, points out correctly that "mercy, like justice, must also be even-handed." Consider, for example, the case of Lieut. Gov. Ed Reinecke of California. Reinecke was not a member of Nixon's "inner circle." He initially told the truth, then let his arm be twisted in order to help Mitchell. For all practical purposes, Reinecke was a bystander, with no direct involvement in Watergate. He too has a loyal wife and loved ones but little good that will do him.

But there is a more serious fault to the President's action. According to news reports, the President and his staff make a sharp distinction between Nixon's legal difficulties and those of his top co-conspirators. As to the latter, White House spokesmen are quoted as saying that they were not "puppets," that they knew what they were doing, and that they cannot escape responsibility for their acts. But if a Mafia chieftain ordered a killing—and the prosecution knew it and could prove it—should the killers be indicted but not the Godfather? The question was raised, in a different context, by George Mason, delegate of Virginia, at the Constitutional Convention: "Shall any man be above justice? Above all, shall that man be above it who can commit the most extensive injustice?" Nixon played a leading role—the command role—in the Watergate cover-up. Yet Mr. Ford has pardoned him, while permitting his aides to stand trial. The unfairness is so blatant that it may dictate the next fatal mistake—a pardon for the others on still another Sunday after church, as Albert Jenner, minority counsel for the House Judiciary Committee, has pointed out. At the least, he should have waited until the September 30th jury was selected and sequestered; now he has added enormously to the difficulties of selecting a jury, and those were serious enough without the added complication of a pardon for Nixon.

Let it be noted that Nixon has acknowledged only "mistakes and misjudgments"; he is said to have angrily

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rejected suggestions that his words of contrition should be more specific. Even Ford's fatuous counsel, Philip W. Buchen, concedes that he would have preferred a stronger statement. By resigning, Nixon aborted the impeachment process; now he is home free with a full and unconditional pardon. All that he has said is that out in San Clemente, when the fog lifts on some mornings and smog does not blanket the atmosphere every afternoon, he was able to see clearly for the first time why he was wrong: he should have acted "more decisively and more forthrightly in dealing with Watergate"! For those meaningless words, he received absolution—and the wherewithal to enjoy it. (And Nixon has wisely resigned from the California Bar, thereby preventing that association from bringing disciplinary proceedings against him. So even this possibility of forcing him to a public test of truth has been foreclosed.)

It comes down to this: a President who arranged or approved a deal whereby his Vice President escaped a jail sentence for a criminal offense appoints a new Vice President who, on succeeding him, grants him a full, free and unconditional pardon for high crimes and misdemeanors. Obviously President Ford, owing his office to Nixon and being an old friend and political associate, was strongly biased in favor of granting a pardon. Hence a grave, perhaps unavoidable, conflict of interests existed. So the least President Ford could have done was to act with extreme circumspection; he should have waited until the legal process had been set in motion and he knew what the charges were and the nature of the evidence supporting them. And he should have insisted not on a "plea of contrition" but a formal acknowledgment of guilt. Now we are faced not merely with a gross abuse of equal justice and due process but of democratic principles as well. It has been established, as a precedent, that neither a President nor a Vice President can be held fully accountable for criminal misconduct; they are, in effect, above and beyond the law. And who, in the case of Nixon, made this Jove-like decision? Gerald Ford, who was elected neither Vice President nor President. He was a political or patronage appointee of the man who made him President and whom he has now placed beyond the reach of the law. Whether the public will acquiesce in this travesty of justice and democratic practice remains to be seen, but a grave and irreparable mistake will be made if this act of mayhem against the system of criminal justice is condoned. Watergate was not just another scandal. A lot of money was involved but Watergate had to do with the abuse of power, not with boodle *per se*. It signals deep trouble—even to the point that the future of republican government is in jeopardy. President Ford is therefore profoundly mistaken if he thinks that he can slam shut the book on Watergate. The threat which Watergate represents will be with us for the indefinite future. It was not the Lord's work that the President did on Sunday, September 8, but a grave disservice to the country.

A single ray of simple decency penetrates the false sentiment and mawkish rhetoric of the President's proclamation: the action of J.F. terHorst in promptly resigning as press secretary. It is a pity—and one hopes not a sign of things to come—that the first Ford appointee to bow out should be a man of conscience, good sense and integrity.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

Organization Upset in New York

The party chiefs—State Chairman Joseph F. Crangle, Brooklyn boss Meade Esposito and Queens leader Matthew Troy, Jr.—were able to dominate this year's New York State Democratic conventions, but a new primary law made it possible for rebel candidates to qualify for the ballot by securing 20,000 signatures—a low figure by most state standards. Apparently the leaders thought the primary would cause them no real trouble and would serve as a sop to the reformers.

They were mistaken, for the anti-organization candidates generally won and, ironically, the result is much the best-balanced ticket the Democrats have fielded in the sixteen years they have been out of office. The argument for the convention system has always been that party leaders are better qualified to select a "balanced" ticket—important in a state with so many well-organized minorities—than are voters at a primary. So the leaders selected Howard Samuels for Governor, Mario Cuomo for Lieutenant Governor, Lee Alexander (Mayor of Syracuse) for Senator and Robert Meehan for Attorney General. That's balance: a Jew, an Italian-American Catholic, a Greek-American and an Irish-American. But Rep. Hugh L. Carey trounced Howard Samuels; state Sen. Mary Anne Krupsak, an upstate resident, defeated Mario Cuomo; Robert Abrams, Bronx Borough President, easily won over Meehan, and Ramsey Clark, a carpet-bagger, beat Lee Alexander (who, incidentally, like Mario Cuomo, is an attractive politician; both should try again). So the anti-organization ticket ended up with an Irish-American Catholic (Carey), a Polish-American, also a Catholic (Krupsak), a Jew (Abrams) and a Texas Protestant with a slow drawl (Ramsey Clark)—a better ticket on the merits and at least as well balanced as the one selected by the bosses. Carey and Krupsak may well win in November, but Abrams, opposing Atty. Gen. Louis Lefkowitz, and Clark, facing Senator Javits, have their work cut out. The anti-organization candidates probably benefited from a low turnout that reflects a general disgust with politics as usual.

Ramsey Clark's candidacy merits a word of special comment. He ran a low-keyed campaign, stressing important issues, publishing excellent position papers, relying on many small contributions and emphasizing straight talk and political honesty. He did not fudge on any issues, although he soft-pedaled some of them before particular groups. If he can manage, as he proposes, to engage Senator Javits in a series of debates, New York voters may, at last, find out how the Senator really stands on key issues. Senator Javits is a superb politician; he has sensitive political antennae and his office gives prompt attention to queries and requests. But his specific national and state accomplishments are difficult to pin down and he is often more preoccupied with the politics of issues than with their substance. In his simple, direct way, Clark often says more than he seems to be saying. For example: "I think we need a politics of principle, that we can see. Then representative government can work. You've got to know that *this* person stands for *this*. If people don't stand for something, then you don't know what you're getting. And the probability is that they won't ever stand

for anything, and nothing will happen. And that's what's wrong." And that, of course, is the problem with Senator Javits: you can *hear* him, you can *read* him but you can't *see* what he stands for, if anything.

The Press and Chile

September 11 was the anniversary of the junta takeover in Chile, with the accompanying murders and disappearance of Allende supporters. A year later, the junta is still holding 2,000 "traitors" in jail—anyone connected with the Allende regime, although it came to power legally and openly, is *ipso facto* a traitor—and there have been recent executions. Perhaps "executions" is the wrong word; it implies at least superficial formality, but in two cases reported from Santiago by Joseph Novitski of *The Washington Post* the victims, a physician and a contractor, were simply arrested and shot.

Until the role of the CIA in the "destabilization" of the Allende government was revealed on September 8 by *The New York Times*, the printed press had, with a few exceptions, completely lost interest in Chile. The electronic press was still more oblivious. That is not the fault of the correspondents, but of the people who should be backing them up in Washington and Santiago. The junta threatened to expel Novitski last June, then thought better of it. When he got wind of the executions, the authorities put him under house arrest. In this case the American Embassy in Santiago tried to be helpful—an Embassy official stayed with Novitski part of the time during his detainment. But the RCA Corporation subsidiary in Santiago refused to transmit his story, on the ground that it would be held responsible by the junta for any news story that the junta deemed detrimental to Chile's "image" before the world. Novitski finally managed to get his story to Washington by telephone.

The Nation carried detailed reports of the violence which attended the September 11th coup. We ran "True Verdict on Allende" by E. Bradford Burns (October 29, 1973), an expert at the University of California. Later (December 3, 1973), "Chile in *The Wall Street Journal*" by Laurence R. Birns, provoked a long letter from Everett Martin, the *Journal* writer, which we ran, and a rejoinder in the *Journal*. Now, in the September 5th *Village Voice*, Alexander Cockburn reports that Martin got an Overseas Press Club award for his reporting on Chile. Among the judges was Eduardo Schijman, a native of Chile working in New York for the Chilean Trading Corporation, a state agency. Schijman also lends a hand by sending out copies of Martin's articles to the corporation's mailing list of businessmen. Cockburn sums it up: the American press in general usually gives more publicity to the menace of socialism than the actuality of fascism.

That is also the unpublicized policy of the government of the United States. On September 7 it was revealed that last April William E. Colby, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, had testified at a top-secret hearing that the Nixon administration had authorized more than \$8 million to make it impossible for Allende to govern Chile. The plan was concocted by the "40 committee," a code name for Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State and regarded as the indispensable man in American diplomacy.

The way American diplomacy is conducted nowadays, he has a valid claim to the title. It is also worth noting that if it were not for persistent sleuthing by Rep. Michael J. Harrington, we still would not know of these goings-on, which have been persistently denied by Mr. Kissinger and other State Department officials. Chile, of course, has been only one theatre of operations for the CIA which, if the honor and reputation of the United States is to be salvaged, requires tighter Congressional supervision than even its most severe critics had thought necessary.

Consumer Advocacy

The Nation has run a number of editorials on the Consumer Protection Agency bill introduced by Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D., N.Y.). The bill has faced fierce business opposition. It comes up again on September 19, for a fourth attempt to invoke cloture in its behalf. Months ago, *Business Week* (March 30) quoted a U.S. Chamber of Commerce lobbyist: "With prices soaring the way they are, anything labeled 'consumer protection' is going to be hard to stop." He was too pessimistic (from the Chamber of Commerce viewpoint), for the legislation, first launched in 1972, has met a succession of roadblocks.

Which was to be expected—Ralph Nader calls it "the most important piece of consumer legislation ever introduced in the Congress." Still, as with Medicare and Medicaid before it, the opposition is gradually being eroded. Although the 1974 bill is stronger than the 1972 version, the filibuster is losing ground. The early sentiment for cloture was 56 to 42 in the Senate, then it rose to 59 to 34 and now it has garnered sixty-four votes in favor. Only three more votes are needed to rout the obstructionists.

The measure, now called the Agency for Consumer Advocacy (ACA), would be set up as a governmental department with its own head, named by the President and subject to confirmation by the Senate. This status is of the utmost importance, in that it gives ACA the right to intervene in the consumer's interest in hearings before the regulatory agencies and thus to act as a gadfly in numerous sectors of the bureaucracy. It is, of course, an old story that most of the regulatory agencies fraternize with the industries they nominally regulate. If ACA does not get fair treatment for the consumer from one of these complaisant agencies, it can resort to the courts.

The most adamant opposition to ACA has come from the South. The only Southerners who favor it are Hollings of South Carolina, Bentsen of Texas and Chiles of Florida. In the North, it is opposed only by Aiken of Vermont, Taft of Ohio, Griffin of Michigan, Hansen of Wyoming, McClure of Idaho and Dominick of Colorado. Oddly enough, some major corporations have seen the light—Montgomery Ward, Zenith, Motorola, Kimberly Clark, Connecticut General, Dreyfus Fund—and they have caught hell from their die-hard brethren.

The Senate sponsors are Magnuson of Washington, Ribicoff of Connecticut, Percy of Illinois and Javits of New York. The initial appropriation calls for only \$15 million, but that will do for a beginning. Other things being equal, candidates in the November elections should be judged by their stand on this issue. Nothing pending in Congress is of greater immediate importance.

HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE U.N.

REP. DONALD M. FRASER

Washington

The United Nations Charter declares that promotion of human rights is one of the basic purposes of the world organization. But despite the noble words of the Charter, U.N. members have been notably reluctant to authorize the world body to review alleged cases of torture, massacre and acts of political repression in specific countries. Many have argued that such investigations would violate Article II of the Charter which prohibits the organization from intervening in the affairs of member states.

During its first twenty years, however, the United Nations never hesitated to speak out against violations of human rights when a majority of member states favored action. The international organization consistently opposed colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, as it still does today. In the early days, when the United States had a voting majority, the practice of forced labor and other rights violations in the Soviet-bloc states were frequent targets of the world body.

The U.N.'s credibility was undermined by the obvious use of political criteria to determine which violations of human rights deserved the organization's attention. Recognizing this major flaw in the United Nations' method of operation, the United States and other delegations urged that the U.N.'s Commission on Human Rights be given the authority to investigate complaints from individuals and private groups who considered themselves victims of repression.

In 1967, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) authorized the Commission on Human Rights and its Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to examine complaints received from individuals and nongovernmental groups. Three years later, the council adopted detail procedures for the review of such complaints. The subcommittee was authorized to receive communications dealing with alleged human rights violations and to determine which, if any, revealed a "consistent pattern of gross and reliably attested violations," requiring attention by the full commission. The commission, in turn, would determine whether an investigation should be made and a report filed with ECOSOC. The commission, however, was not free to act unilaterally under the 1970 procedures. Any on-site investigations of alleged rights violations required the consent of the country involved.

Last year full use was made of these elaborate referral procedures for the first time. The Subcommittee

Donald Fraser (D., Minn.) is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. The subcommittee has held hearings on international human rights and U.S. foreign policy. Last March it issued a report of its findings: "Human Rights in the World Community: A Call for U.S. Leadership."

on Prevention of Discrimination referred eight cases of rights violations to its parent body, the Commission on Human Rights. The eight cases involved Great Britain (for allegations of torture in Northern Ireland), Brazil, Indonesia, Portugal, Iran, Tanzania, Guyana and Burundi. But the full commission, unwilling to deal with the recommendations made by its subcommittee, postponed decisions on all eight cases until 1975. The governments cited were asked to reply to the charges made against them by December 7 of this year.

Under the terms of the 1967 ECOSOC policy, the full commission does not have to wait for its subcommittee to lay the groundwork. It can act on its own, as it did this spring with regard to Chile. Here, the Communist states, led by the Soviet Union, were the principal initiators of the complaints against the new military government in Santiago. The Eastern-bloc countries were not alone, however. In all, twenty-nine U.N. members expressed concerns about recent events in Chile. Many nongovernmental organizations spoke on the issue, including the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, whose spokeswoman was Mrs. Salvadore Allende, widow of the late Chilean President.

Despite efforts by the government of Chile to prevent the commission from taking action, the U.N. agency agreed to send a telegram to Chilean leaders noting "with deep concern numerous reports from a wide variety of sources relating to gross and massive violations of human rights" in that country. The commission called on the Chilean regime to cease "immediately any kind of violations of human rights." And finally, the commission asked the Chilean Government to report back "as a matter of urgency about the measures taken in pursuance of this telegram."

In its reply to the commission, Chile denied any wrongdoing, acknowledging only that certain restrictions had been placed on the right to individual liberty while the country remained in a state of siege.

Recognizing that the situation in Chile has not improved, the U.N. Economic and Social Council, meeting last May, adopted a resolution endorsing the concern expressed by the Human Rights Commission and calling on the government of Chile "to take all necessary steps to restore and safeguard basic human rights and fundamental freedoms in Chile, particularly those involving a threat to human life and liberty."

The House Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, which I chair, has taken a special interest in the United States' role in these U.N. deliberations. Earlier this year, our subcommittee completed a series of hearings on international human rights issues. These hearings, I think, gave us a fuller understanding of how this country views the United Nations' authority to deal with human rights violations.

First of all, it is clear that neither the United States, nor most other governments, for that matter, is particu-

larly eager to press for full use of the U.N.'s recently acquired authority in the field of international human rights. In large part, it is a matter of whose ox is being gored. Member states are quite willing to push for an investigation of those governments with which they have unfriendly relations, but everyone starts getting a little edgy when the investigation gets too close to home.

William Buffum, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, was candid about this point when he appeared before our subcommittee saying: "It is obviously much easier for us to attach special weight to an adverse finding of an international body when that finding relates to a country with which we do not have a particularly close relation."

When a friend and ally is involved, however, the United States shrinks from action. Northern Ireland is a case in point. Mrs. Rita Hauser, a former U.S. representative to the Human Rights Commission, told our subcommittee how she tried to persuade the State Department to speak out on rights violations in Northern Ireland by the British Government. She was told in no uncertain terms by a department policy maker that, "This involved a friendly country and we do not wish to get entangled in any way, shape or form in what is happening there. . . . We just want to stay away from it, because it would offend a long-standing ally."

Prof. Frank Newman, from the University of California Law School at Berkeley, who has represented many individual and organizational complaints before the U.N., told us that the United States has a good record in pushing for adoption of procedures aimed at strengthening human rights. But, Newman went on, when it comes to specific charges of rights violations in specific countries, "the United States is terribly sorry about all [these] cases

and wishes they could have just been from Eastern Europe and that would have been much nicer."

Thus, the United States was on the spot when charges were brought against Chile, a new-found ally. In that case, the United States did not press for an investigation—an action favored by several other delegations. In response to an inquiry from our subcommittee about this country's rationale for its position on the Chilean case, the State Department told us that few delegations favored the investigation and that, in any case, the Chilean representative had made clear that his government would not accept the presence of a formal investigatory group in Chile.

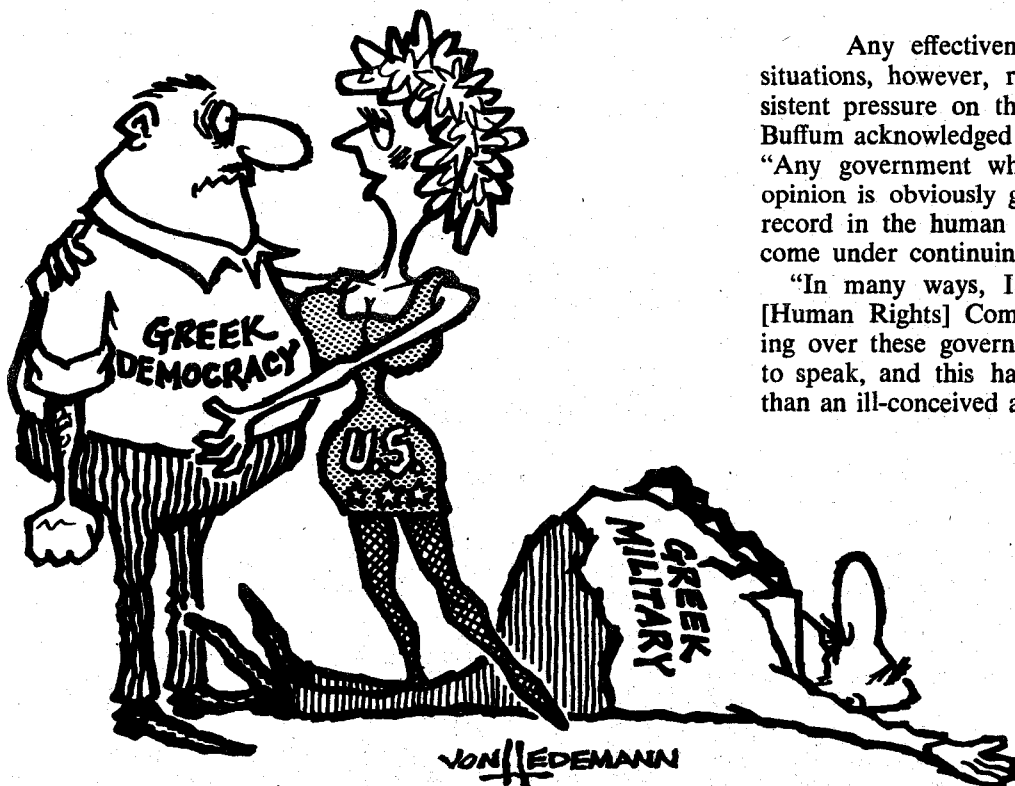
During the full ECOSOC session, a proposal was put forward that the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination prepare a report on the Chilean situation. Here, the United States objected, saying (in response to an inquiry from our subcommittee) that the subcommittee, being an expert body, should not be used as an agency for carrying out a study with strong political overtones.

I considered this a rather weak excuse for inaction. The Chilean situation may, indeed, have strong political overtones, but that does not reduce the seriousness of the events that are occurring in that country. It seemed evident to us that the United States wanted the U.N. to deal with the Chilean case as quickly and superficially as possible.

The United States found that it had little company when the mildly worded Economic and Social Council resolution was considered by the council's subordinate body, the Social Committee. The resolution calling on Chile to "restore and safeguard basic human rights" was adopted by a vote of 41 to 0, with two abstentions. Chile and the United States were the two abstainers.

Any effectiveness the U.N. might have in these situations, however, results from the application of persistent pressure on the government concerned. Secretary Buffum acknowledged as much before our subcommittee: "Any government which is at all responsive to world opinion is obviously going to be more sensitive about its record in the human rights field, if its performance will come under continuing review."

"In many ways, I think it is fair to say that the [Human Rights] Commission's final action is still hanging over these governments as a sword of Damocles, so to speak, and this has as much or even more influence than an ill-conceived and hastily adopted resolution which



"On Second Thought, It's You I Love."

the government concerned can claim was merely politically motivated."

Despite Secretary Buffum's support for the concept of U.N. oversight in the field of human rights, there is still little tangible evidence of sustained U.S. effort when we move from the abstract to the specific. The State Department has not shown that it is pressing the Human Rights Commission for a full investigation of the eight cases brought before it by the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination. The United States does not appear to favor action by the commission without the consent of the government concerned. The Human Rights Commission needs to make a good-faith effort to get this consent, but when it cannot, it can still proceed with an investigation under policies laid down by the ECOSOC.

Despite these criticisms of U.S. policies at the U.N., I believe there is still hope that the priority of human rights will be raised in determining U.S. foreign policy.

CONFERENCE AT CARACAS

National Rivalries Put Out to Sea

VED P. NANDA

The bounties of the oceans are plentiful but not inexhaustible. However, their rational management and use would give mankind the breathing space it needs to explore alternative sources of energy and food, to control the rate of population growth and, if necessary, to experiment with and adopt alternate life styles. Otherwise, who can be certain that apocalyptic predictions of rampant famines, massive starvation and a polluted and stifled world will not come to pass?

The oceans offer assistance to worldwide demands for more food, oil and gas and minerals. For instance:

¶The world's catches of fish, which tripled in the past twenty-five years, could be further increased by 50 to 100 per cent without endangering the fish supply of the oceans, says the minister of the Soviet fishing industry.

¶Offshore oil production now being pursued by 100 countries yields 19 per cent of the world output, and is expected to provide almost 50 per cent by the late 1980s, as recently estimated by the *Oil & Gas Journal*.

¶Manganese nodules, many roughly the size of golf balls, lie scattered over the sea bed at depths of 3,000 meters or more and can be mined for cobalt, copper, lead, manganese, nickel, etc.

Meanwhile, traffic in the already crowded sea lanes has almost doubled since the mid-1960s, with increasing numbers of supertankers likely to ply the oceans in the 1980s; and ocean pollution caused both by land-based sources and spills from tankers and offshore oil

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There is some indication, in fact, that the State Department is beginning to gear up to deal with human rights issues more effectively. The International Organizations Bureau is strengthening its staff in this area and the regional bureaus are appointing human rights officers.

The United States may be no worse than most countries when it comes to the priority it gives to human rights. In fact, it is probably better than most. But the obvious clichés about the dominance of power politics notwithstanding, I think we have a right to expect more from our government. If Congress and the American people persist, I am hopeful that this Administration will come to recognize that a foreign policy founded on human rights principles is not only morally right but practically sound.

As former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark said at our hearings last fall, "Human rights . . . will be the way we learn to live together on this planet at peace." □

wells is reaching alarming proportions. Thor Heyerdahl, the Norwegian explorer who four years ago floated across the Atlantic on a papyrus reed raft, recently warned at the U.N. Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas: "The main problem of the ocean is that we are polluting it in such a way that we cannot repair the damage we are doing." Comparing the ocean to an apple "on the way to rot," Heyerdahl criticized the assembled delegates for "letting it [rot] while they find a way to divide it."

Heyerdahl's concern is shared by the many observers who have warned during the last decade that existing ocean laws are outmoded and utterly inadequate for an era marked by rapid technological advances, multiple uses of the oceans, and the expanding range and scope of man's activities in the sea and on the sea bed. That is why the U.N. Law of the Sea Conference met at Caracas on June 20 for ten weeks to review and revise the existing ocean laws. This conference will be followed by another next year in Vienna and still more conferences will probably be called in the next decade or two.

Nations must reach accords in the near future on laws governing access to the oceans and on their equitable uses and resource exploitation. The imperative nature of the task is heightened by the difficulties which we already face:

¶Competing and conflicting uses of the oceans for various purposes—fishing, navigation, deep-sea mining, scientific exploration, etc.

¶Potential shortages of land-based resources and the rapidly rising price of coastal real estate.

¶Relatively minor development into the oceans thus far, coupled with growing awareness of the potential underseas riches and the availability of technological capability to exploit them.

If accords are not reached, a modern era of colonial-

ism creating disorder reminiscent of the worst colonial periods of the past is a distinct possibility. President Johnson's warning to the maritime powers in 1966 is most appropriate: "We must be careful to avoid a race to grab and to hold the lands under the high seas. We must insure that the deep sea and the ocean bottoms are and remain the legacy of all human beings."

The classical law of the sea, which dates back to the Middle Ages and to the Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, was based on a pivotal concept—freedom of the seas. This rather vague concept meant that, since the high seas were *res communis* (belonging to everyone) and not *res nullius* (belonging to no one), they could not in whole or in part be under the sovereignty of any state or group of states. The freedom-of-the-seas concept initially satisfied the needs of mercantilism, and later those of colonialism, for it allowed free access to all, which in practice meant that only those with the means to use it could benefit from the concept. The expansionist colonial powers, having exclusive control over their own vessels, used the principle of freedom of navigation to discover new lands and to assert their claims to them. While the colonial powers had a common interest in supporting this principle, the Third World countries of today, which were mostly under foreign domination during that period, had no voice in creating any aspect of international law.

In modern times, the first effort to codify the law of the sea was undertaken by the League of Nations. The Council of the League convened a conference at The Hague in 1930, but was forced to abandon its effort in the absence of a consensus on the limits of territorial waters. Most countries continued to claim the traditional 3-mile zone, which was initially identified as a security zone, 3 miles being the range of a cannon shot. However, the once unassailable 3-mile rule is now riddled by challenges and objections.

Following World War II, the United Nations sought codification of the ocean laws in two conferences in 1958 and 1960. Several events had taken place since the League's attempt three decades earlier. Many new countries had become independent. Oceans were being used not only for navigation and fishing but also for oil and gas development, the first offshore well being drilled in 1948. However, the most important event was a proclamation issued by President Truman in September 1945, which declared that the United States claimed jurisdiction over the natural resources of the subsoil and the sea bed of the continental shelf. The jurisdiction asserted was over the submarine areas lying adjacent to the U.S. coast up to a depth of 600 feet. The claim was justified by the argument that the continental shelf is, after all, an extension of the land, and that the resources of the shelf frequently form the seaward extension of a pool or deposit lying within the territory. The U.S. claims were quite limited in nature, and specifically did not interfere with the traditional freedom of the high seas which included: freedom of navigation, freedom of fisheries, freedom to lay submarine cables and freedom to fly over the waters.

The Truman proclamation marked the beginning of serious challenges to the classical law of the sea. While several countries followed the U.S. lead in extending their coastal jurisdiction in adjacent waters, many of them

broadened the scope of their claims beyond natural resources on the continental shelf to assert total national sovereignty. Many Latin American countries, especially on the West Coast, asserted jurisdiction over the living resources in a 200-mile zone, claiming that, although they possessed hardly any continental shelf because their coasts dropped off sharply, their position was similar to that of the United States. Their purported goal was to "reserve, protect, maintain and utilize natural resources and wealth. . . ." Chile, Ecuador and Peru were the first countries to join the 200-mile club, initiating a trend that is now culminating in a forcefully asserted claim of a broad economic zone.

Although some of the claims for broad coastal zones specifically guaranteed freedom of navigation and air traffic, others asserted the concomitant rights over "the sea bed, ocean floor and superjacent waters," thus claiming almost total sovereignty. An attempt was made to resolve the controversy at the 1958 and 1960 U.N. conferences, but no accord could be reached on the breadth of territorial waters. And during the first half of the 1960s several other Latin American countries joined the 200-mile pioneers.

Dissatisfaction with the existing law continued to spread, and in 1967 a U.N. member called for another effort to review the law of the seas. The U.N. Ambassador from Malta, Arvid Pardo, introduced an agenda item in the 1967 session of the General Assembly, asking the United Nations to declare that the oceans belong to all mankind and that treasures hidden beneath them be explored and exploited for the benefit of all.

Ambassador Pardo called for the establishment of a strong international machinery to exploit the oceans' wealth. He envisioned its equitable distribution. Very few U.N. members took Ambassador Pardo's call seriously, but since then rapid technological developments and a partial breakdown of the existing laws have provided a sufficient community of interest to create the Caracas meeting. It was attended by 5,000 delegates and observers from 149 countries, and was the largest and perhaps most important international conference ever held.

The need now is to draw up either an effective and workable constitution or charter for the oceans, or to sign a number of international treaties dealing with a host of highly sensitive and potentially explosive issues—international authority and machinery for the exploitation of deep-sea resources; delimitation of territorial waters, the continental shelf and the economic zone, and the definition of sovereign rights and duties in these areas; freedom of navigation and overflights, especially in and over international straits and the proposed economic zone; and scientific research, pollution control and technical assistance.

The colossal size of the task is evidenced by the difficulties and problems usually associated with decision making at the United Nations and at other international conferences to which are invited not only the U.N. membership but also nonmembers and international organizations. Although bureaucratic hassles, voting procedures and the lack of adequate provisions for settling disputes and enforcing decisions are formidable hurdles, the root

of the problem at most international meetings is the conflicting and competing national interests which make it hard to get 150 nations to agree on any matter of substance. And when at stake is a huge territory—oceans comprise almost 70 per cent of the earth's surface—the commotion at Caracas and the continuing uncertainty about the outcome of the United Nations' concern for the oceans can be easily understood. Problems are further complicated by the nationalism that has been rising throughout the world since the early 1960s.

The six volumes of preparatory work for the Caracas conference represented seven years of negotiation and hard political bargaining at the United Nations; these studies were based on economic, legal, oceanographic and scientific research by thousands of experts from all over the world. Even a cursory reading of various claims and counter claims, proposals and statements by various countries and blocs of countries during the last six years and this past summer at Caracas shows a world divided not on ideological lines but among cross-cutting coalitions formed on mutuality of interests. For instance:

¶The United States and the Soviet Union are joined by Japan and other maritime powers in contending that freedom of navigation and overflights in and over straits and the economic zone is a nonnegotiable issue; many other countries consider this a spurious demand.

¶Technologically advanced countries prefer that the proposed international resource agency (to be established to regulate and manage the resources of the deep sea) have limited powers of licensing and collecting royalties; most developing countries would choose a strong international body having full control over the exploitation of the ocean resources in the international zone. Such an agency would use the capital and technological know-how provided by advanced countries and multinational corporations to produce revenue for the benefit of all mankind, but primarily for the Third World countries. Similarly, while technologically advanced countries invoke freedom of oceanic research as a basic principle under which scientific research could be conducted unhampered even on

continental shelves, a broad coalition of developing countries deeply mistrusts the research designs of the "military-industrial complex," and prefers that final say on the subject be left with each coastal state.

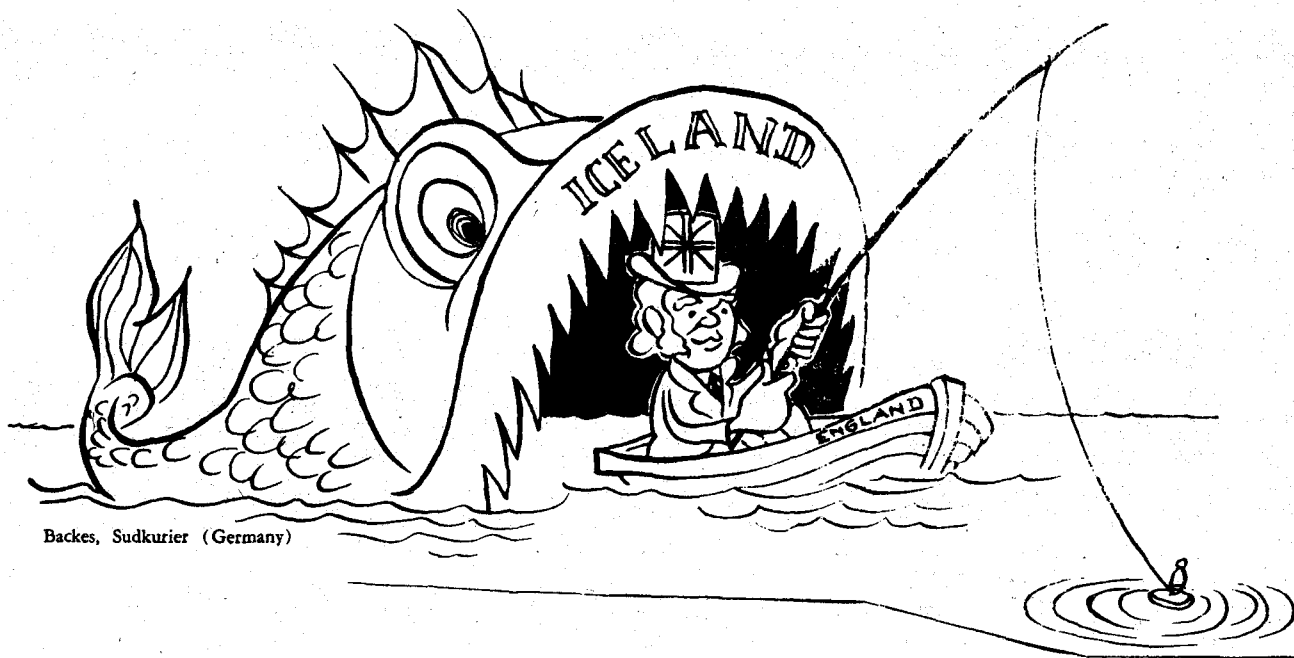
¶Countries with long-distance fishing interests such as Japan and the Soviet Union oppose the claims of those interested in wide territorial zones for coastal fishing.

¶A vast majority of countries with extensive continental shelves and continental margins prefer to extend their exclusive sovereignty over the living and nonliving resources in their coastal waters to the seaward limit of their continental margins; those with small shelves, or which are landlocked or shelf-locked, argue for narrow coastal zones.

¶Indonesia and the Philippines, among others, have claimed broad coastal waters for archipelagic states, on the theory that all waters lying within the outermost islands of such states are archipelagic waters which they could enclose, subject to innocent passage of ships. These states, it is proposed, would set up corridors to regulate such passage. Major maritime powers raise questions as to the definition of an archipelago and claim free navigation and overflight rights in the enclosed area.

¶The United States and the Soviet Union find it in their common interest as major military powers to oppose the claims for broad coastal zones made by many NATO members, including Canada, Norway and Iceland, and Western allies, including Australia and New Zealand, in company with Albania, China, Cuba and Yugoslavia and most of the have-not countries. The United States has recently opposed a proposal made at Caracas by nine nations—Canada, Chile, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Mauritius, Mexico, New Zealand and Norway—that coastal states be given sovereignty rights over fishing and deep-sea mining to a distance of 200 miles. The U.S. opposition was based primarily on the lack of adequate guarantees to insure freedom of navigation.

During the preparatory work for the conference, internal tensions emerged in many countries. For example, various groups within the United States advocated con-



licting policies. The U.S. Navy and Air Force preferred a narrow coastal zone. Coastal fishermen, however, clamored for a broad U.S. jurisdiction to prevent the Japanese and the Soviet fleets from depleting the stocks in a 100- or 200-mile coastal zone. The tuna industry's interests called for advocating a narrow zone, a position keenly contested by the oil and gas industry that wants to extend U.S. control to the seaward limit of the continental margin.

The U.S. hard mineral industry stoutly defended the *laissez-faire* approach in the deep seas, for they have the technology and capital and suspect any international machinery that would interfere with their right to scoop up manganese nodules. They contended that security of tenure and adequate guarantees to protect their investment would be lacking under an international regime. The State Department, on the other hand, was calling for an orderly development of the oceans' resources that assumes accommodation with other countries and the acceptance of a strong international resource authority to manage the deep-sea area, and to control pollution there.

These international and national tensions reflect the complicated nature of the economic, political and security interests involved in ocean negotiations. The Caracas conference has confirmed the need for accommodations, since no country can hope to get all that it would like to have. To illustrate, even staunch opponents of a 200-mile economic zone are reconciled to the eventual acceptance of a 12-mile territorial sea and a 200-mile economic zone that gives the coastal state exclusive rights to natural resources within that area. The United States is among those that have reversed their earlier position by accepting a broad economic zone, subject to international guarantees for freedom of transit in and over the economic zone and the more than 100 international straits, including such strategically important straits as Malacca, Gibraltar and the entrances to the Persian Gulf, which would become territorial waters under the 12-mile limit.

Many developing countries insist on applying the traditional rule of "innocent passage," defined as passage which is not prejudicial to the "peace, good order or security of the coastal state." Since there are no precise criteria to determine the innocence of passage, major military and maritime powers fear that coastal states might impose unreasonable burdens on international commerce by arbitrarily deciding that a specific passage is not innocent.

The coastal states contend that they find freedom of transit unacceptable for two reasons: (1) there are no adequate assurances that their coastlines would be protected from oil spills and pollution; and (2) there would be no adequate protection from the adverse effects if military conflicts occurred among major powers during transit. Further negotiations are also necessary to resolve the questions of submerged passage by submarines and of overflight in the straits and in the economic zone.

If a broad economic zone becomes a reality—and many at Caracas thought it certainly would—the implications would be far-reaching. First, this zone will take in all but 1 to 5 per cent of the eventually recoverable petroleum, according to a study of the National Petroleum Council, an industry advisory body to the U.S. Secretary of Interior. Second, almost 85 per cent of the fisheries

will fall within this zone, according to estimates by fisheries experts. Thus, what would be left for an international body to manage would be manganese nodules scattered over the sea bed. While estimates vary on the amount of the potential annual tax revenue which the deep-sea mining of these nodules might bring over the next several decades, the figure being tossed around is about \$100 million. That is a far cry from the euphoric assertions during 1968-70 when the chambers of the United Nations General Assembly echoed with calls to exploit the ocean resources and allocate the billions of dollars of royalties to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. Thus, a likely result of the acceptance of the economic zone concept would be to leave little incentive for building strong international institutions and machinery for the deep sea.

However, proponents of a 200-mile economic zone point to a major positive achievement: the possibility of establishing workable rules by coastal states which inherently have the ability to write and enforce environmental standards in these zones. Instead of leaving the question of environmental control to a proposed international agency endowed with weak, if any, enforcement machinery, there is now a chance, they assert, to protect, preserve, maintain, and even improve the environment.

No matter how far the national jurisdiction extends, bitter controversies lie ahead before workable agreement is reached on the nature, scope and functions of the proposed international regime for the deep oceans. For example: who gives licenses? Who exploits the resources: international organizations, nations, multinational corporations or all of them? Who collects royalties? How are they allocated? What criteria are used in making these decisions? Who votes in decision making and by what procedures? Do the major powers or coastal states enjoy any preferential rights? Who sets and controls prices, if the exploitation of minerals from the oceans adversely affects the prices of land-based minerals? What are the rights of the metal-exporting countries, such as Chile and Zambia, and of the landlocked and shelf-locked countries?

Equally complex are the problems of fishing, for the fish obviously do not respect territorial boundaries. Some species are primarily coastal; others are highly migratory. Some, like salmon, spawn in rivers and travel long distances; others are sedentary. Even if agreement were reached to accept the coastal states' special interests with respect to coastal species, and special accords were reached on other species, the question would still remain as to who can fish for portions of stocks reserved to a coastal state but which that state does not fully utilize. Should it be left to the coastal state's discretion?

The control of marine pollution, both land-based and from vessels, will pose formidable problems. Who sets standards? For instance, could a coastal state set standards higher than those of the vessel's state? Or than those set by an international body? How will they be enforced? Scientific research is an equally sensitive subject. The nature of any mechanism for the compulsory settlement of disputes is a subject of controversy. Finally, how does one insure that grabs for ocean space will cease, pending a comprehensive treaty?

No discussion of the emerging law of the sea will be complete until it resolves the basic question of treaty law: what happens if a large number of states simply ignore a treaty? Under the current treaty law only each nation's specific consent obliges that state to comply with the treaty provisions, for a treaty is not legislation. The president of the Caracas conference, Ambassador H. S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka recently made a salutary statement: "It is a wish, shared almost without exception, that the future law of the sea should be established by a treaty of a universally acceptable character." The decision at Caracas to arrive at a consensus on each issue and still to avoid giving one country or a small number of countries virtual veto power should be seen in this light.

There is no denying that the task is immense. Major military and maritime powers, major fishery states and those with large coasts, and technologically advanced countries have heavy stakes. They would like to call the shots and are willing to consider trade-offs—as, for example, between freedom of navigation and fishery rights or a 200-mile zone. The negotiations under way in the 1970s will lay the foundation for the future. The hope is that it will be the foundation for a just and equitable order for the oceans, and that is likely to be accomplished not by making unilateral decisions, but by taking concerted action under the premise that ocean space is to be treated as an ecological unit. The task requires a statesmanlike approach. Will the nations accept the challenge? □

MUCH TO DO & LITTLE TIME

CAN PORTUGAL MAKE IT?

ALICE MARQUIS

The jubilation which last April greeted the end of forty-six years of Portuguese dictatorship has subsided, as the country faces the awesome task of catching up on almost half a century's backlog of problems. A provisional government rules in Lisbon and free elections have been promised for next March. But whether Portugal's surprise dash for freedom will "stick" is highly problematical. One provisional government has already fallen, its civilian members replaced largely by young military officers. There is much to do and little time.

At Cape St. Vincent, the southwestern corner of Europe, the surf pounds eternally against the rock, and a fresh wind blows perpetually toward the south. It was this wind which swelled sails of Vasco da Gama's caravel toward the treasures of Africa and the Indies. Today, the same breeze ripples through the hand-knit sweaters and Madeira tablecloths hopefully laid out on the ground by a souvenir seller. Few buyers appear.

The blight of the tourist "crop" this summer was just one of the unexpected blows which threaten Portugal's new leaders. Of course the worldwide inflation cut European tourism in general by an estimated 30 per cent, but it seems unfair that in long-suffering Portugal a cholera epidemic (more than 600 known cases in the three months ending in July) should have combined with political uneasiness to frighten away more than half the normal number of visitors.

The source of the cholera is Africa, also the source of the chronic fever of empire which has sapped the strength of this tiny poverty-stricken corner of Europe for the past fourteen years and which finally led to the dramatic April coup. One of the 70,000 Portuguese

soldiers slogging after guerrillas in Angola, Mozambique or Guinea-Bissau carried home the germ. And a group of less than 200 officers, fighting the same hopeless, endless jungle war, brought revolution from Africa back to Europe's most isolated backwater.

The cholera, according to officials at Lisbon's Curry Cabral Hospital is "not serious"; to many observers, neither is the revolution. The faint aroma of the April days, when overnight all of Lisbon was stuffing blood-red carnations into the barrels of revolutionary soldiers' guns, lingers in the Lisbon air. Freedom is a word still spoken jubilantly, reverentially even, in the capital's cafés and university halls. But the freedom most Portuguese are reveling in reeks of the 19th-century's faith in progress through self-determination. It looks hopelessly naive in the context of 20th-century Portuguese reality.

Superficially, political freedom is a reality. Indeed, the overthrow of the repressive Caetano regime has forced into flower a tropical luxuriance of political parties. There were fifty-six at last count: ten officially classified as "extreme Left"; nine simply called "Left"; four in the "Center"; eight "Center Right"; one "extreme Right" (meaning monarchist); and two rival groups of anarchists. There is even a Maoist-Monarchist Party.

The walls of Lisbon are gaudy with posters and spray-painted appeals on behalf of this exuberance of political shadings. Their initials and acronyms beckon to a populace beset by raging inflation (30 per cent this year up to the revolution and no one knows—or dares say—how much since, and a rash of inconvenient strikes). Remittances from the more than a million Portuguese working abroad have dropped by 50 per cent, in fear that the escudo will be devalued. These remittances, along with tourism, have long been Portugal's leading sources of foreign exchange. But it will take more than exuberant slogans to attack economic problems as serious as these.

For the 200-odd political prisoners liberated in one joyously turbulent moment from the secret police's Caxais prison, liberty alone is sufficient. In a satisfying turnabout, the grimly whitewashed cells are now occupied

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by the former secret police, while a government commission gathers evidence against them. So far, more than 900 agents of the despised DGS (General Directory of Security) have been caught. Some 1,200 more are said to be still at large, many of them having fled the country. Also being tracked down are an estimated 100,000 secret police informers.

The 4,000 students at Lisbon University's Faculty of Economics have also seized the revolutionary current to create radical change. Since April 27, a twenty-two-person committee has been in almost continuous session, purging the faculty of reactionaries and revising the curriculum to deal with current problems. When the school reopens in October, it will have leaped, in six months, from being Europe's most backward to a model of student-oriented education.

The committee responsible for this metamorphosis consists of ten faculty members, ten students and two other university employees. Its five-person executive committee is chaired by Doctora Manuela Silva, a youngish professor of social planning whose briskness and charm lightly veil an iron will and a refreshing practicality.

"We intend to concentrate on courses dealing with concrete reality," she says. "This means that we will study the Portuguese situation at the current moment, not some abstract, theoretical material. We've also put away the idea of separate disciplines. We intend to deal with unities of knowledge, related to the main Portuguese problem."

The matter-of-fact phrases cover a massive turnover of professors. Dra. Silva declined to give exact numbers, but explained that "Some professors were kicked out because they were 'implicated' in the old government. Others resigned. We've replaced them all with new people."

"Now that the repressive apparatus has disappeared, it is no longer forbidden to analyze our problems. Naturally, contradictions and tensions that previously were hidden have now appeared. So that our crisis is not worse than before, but we are actually much more healthy. For the first time, at least we know what's happening."

These are brave words, for full knowledge of the Portuguese situation is bound to be disquieting. By almost every measure, Portugal ranks as the worst among "developed" nations. It has the highest infant mortality and the fewest doctors in Europe. It has more illiterates—some 40 per cent of the population—and the fewest university or technical-school graduates. Its wages are the lowest in Europe, while some of its prices (\$2 per gallon of gas, for example) are the highest. It is the least industrialized and agriculturally the least productive. Taxes comprise the lowest percentage of gross national product—14 per cent compared with 30 per cent in England; 29 per cent in France and Germany.

Without the African colonies, Portugal's balance of payments is disastrous. Hanging on to the colonies, however, has cost the country almost half of its budget. The endless colonial wars have earned Portugal contempt and official condemnation from both East and West.

The full legacy of forty-six years of one-man rule by that icy bachelor, Dr. Antonio Salazar, and his hand-picked heir, Marcello Caetano, remains to be revealed. But some of their grim patrimony is already ap-

parent. The worst cost probably is the loss of almost three generations of Portugal's most enterprising and creative people, a massive hemorrhage of talent fleeing the stultified regime which called itself, in brazen double-think, the "New State."

The dictatorship, all the more sinister because it was so pedestrian, has also left behind an overblown and petrified bureaucracy, an army of timid time servers whose chief talent consisted of survival. These are the civil servants on whom the new government must now rely to carry Portugal into modern times.

In addition to the economic problems already mentioned, the new leadership must face the Janus-faced curse of Iberian agriculture—minifundia, on the one hand, and latifundia on the other. From the tiny scraps of land in the northern half of the country, whole villages have fled to become the chambermaids and busboys of Paris. By contrast, the absentee owners of extensive rice, olive, almond and cork estates in the south are prisoners of old-fashioned labor-intensive cultivation. As soon as a minimum farm wage is introduced, their produce will become uncompetitive on the world market.

When the new government recently introduced an industrial minimum wage—\$132 per month—more than half of all workers received raises. But prices rose more. Lunch at a plain Lisbon restaurant would now cost the average worker a day's pay. A recent U.S. Embassy survey found that living costs in Lisbon are 92 per cent of what they are in Washington, D.C.

Despite the multiplicity of political parties, a majority of them officially labeled left-of-Center, the official noises are moderately liberal. After nearly a half-century of confinement within the soundproof chamber of official censorship, the most influential segments of Portugal's leadership naively believe that unlimited doses of liberal democracy will flesh out this scarecrow of a country which has tottered, blinking and wan, into the sunlight of "freedom." Even the Communist Party, admittedly the best-organized and largest single party at this moment, is careful to be, at least officially, "moderate."

What kind of a balance next March's elections will produce is anybody's guess, but considering the number of parties, a succession of unstable coalitions is extremely likely. When one recalls the performance of Portuguese politicians before the Salazar curtain slammed down, the model of a stable parliamentary democracy, which today seems to be everybody's vision, looks like pure fantasy.

Portugal's last foray into democracy occurred between 1910, when republicans overthrew the dilapidated regime of Manuel II, and 1926, the advent of the bloodless chill of Dr. Salazar. In those sixteen years, some forty different governments ruled, some for as briefly as a week. There were more than 300 known attempts at assassination, many of them successful.

The value of the escudo fell so low during that period that foreign creditors threatened to take over the collection of customs duties. This disaster opened the way for one-man rule by the economics professor from Coimbra Jesuit University. In a year, Dr. Salazar did what he promised; the national budget tipped from a huge deficit to a tidy surplus and the escudo was saved.

The fact that the miracle was accomplished by simply



Padry, Le Herisson (Paris)

shutting off government services at untold social cost did not bother the foreign creditors. The major one was the British Government, which rewarded Portugal's loyalty by insisting on repayment of the debt run up by Portugal's 40,000-man expeditionary force in World War I.

By the time the Portuguese realized that there was indeed something worse than a venal and incompetent gaggle of politicians, they were trapped in Europe's most enduring dictatorship. The regime's most significant act turned out to be the proclamation, in 1947, that the frazzled and fever-ridden tropical empire was summarily de-colonized; henceforth, the large African colonies—Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau—as well as the Asian pinpoints—Timor, Macao and Goa—were to be an integral part of the Motherland. Barefoot sardine fishermen emigrated in droves to seek their fortunes as taxi drivers in Lourenço Marques and Luanda. Today, they form the loudest “redneck” opposition to true independence for the African colonies.

The Portuguese administration's neat formulas for forced labor (any African without a job was given honest work on some private plantation—and even got a few pennies for his trouble) often foundered on corruption and inefficiency. But many officials distinguished themselves by their frequent resort to the standard punishment—a specified number of blows with a perforated paddle on the offender's palms.

None of this was colonialism, the Portuguese insisted, since Angola and Mozambique, land the size of all Western Europe, were an integral part of Portugal. The most pernicious effect of this myth is that most Portuguese believe some portion of it. Self-determination, as the government has promised, is one thing, they say, but complete independence is another. By some legerdemain of negotiation, they expect to maintain some sort of re-

lationship with the colonies while settling the unbearable guerrilla war.

Thus, while the new government has frequently promised “self-determination,” talk of full independence is muted. Portugal's hero-President, Gen. António de Spínola, has been portrayed since the revolution as a liberal anti-colonialist who was persecuted by the Fascist regime. In fact, there is no concrete promise of independence in the book he published last year, *Portugal and the Future*, which led to his dismissal from the army and, indirectly, to the April 25th coup. While the Portuguese snapped up 200,000 copies of the Spínola book, it was critically greeted by Frelimo, the powerful Mozambique liberation movement.

General Spínola's liberal reputation is “a dangerous myth,” said a review in the movement's official magazine, *Mozambique Revolution*. The book is “useful,” continued the review, in showing clearly that “the differences between Spínola and his adversaries are merely differences of tactics; the objective of both camps is identical—the maintenance of Portuguese control over the colonies.”

Nor is there much in General Spínola's background to indicate that he deserves his current reputation. In his youth, the monocled 64-year-old general led a battalion of Portuguese volunteers to the aid of Franco in the Spanish Civil War. During World War II, he added gloves and riding crop to his habitual regalia, a costume picked up from fellow officers in the *Wehrmacht*. He observed the siege of Leningrad from the German side.

General Spínola's father was a career economist in the Salazar government. And while the general earned a reputation for scrupulous fairness during his terms as governor of Guinea-Bissau, it was also during his administration that this African outpost was 90 per cent overrun by the guerrillas who now proclaim independence.

His book makes clear where he stands: “The Overseas Territories are a prerequisite for our survival as a free and independent nation. Without the African territories, the country [Portugal] will be reduced to a voiceless corner of a gigantic Europe and will have no possible trump cards to play to assert itself in the concert of nations; it will end by having a merely formal existence in a political framework where its real independence will be totally jeopardized.”

It appears doubtful, to say the least, that the leaders of Frelimo and its Angolan counterpart, MPLA, will now sacrifice the fruits of fourteen years of heartbreaking struggle, simply to enhance Portugal's place in the constellation of nations.

And yet, even Lisbon's most sophisticated observers repeat the litany of “some kind of relationship.” Intellectuals make much of Portugal's cultural impact on Africa, of the fact that black-white intermarriage has been common for centuries, and that Portuguese is the only language which unifies a multitude of antagonistic tribes.

To the visitor, Portugal's intellectuals appear alarmingly out of touch with the complex realities of 1974. Even in the *avant-garde* Café Brasileira, a sumptuously paneled Art Nouveau cavern where “everybody” gathers at midmorning, the talk betrays the naïveté of 19th-century verities. Free speech, free elections, indi-

vidualism, self-determination, liberalism, social justice.

But more disturbing are the silences. Not heard from since the revolution are Portugal's powerful "100 families." Where are the four men who own 235,000 acres of land, an area equivalent to that held by 50,000-odd dirt-scratching peasants? Where are the bankers who also own most of the country's newspapers? Where are the oil companies now exploring rich prospects in Angola?

Also silent is the white-racist regime in Rhodesia, whose only outlet to the sea is a railroad terminating at Beira, Mozambique. No word comes from South Africa, which annually recruits 100,000 Mozambique workers for the Rand gold mines.

"The revolution is irreversible," says writer Paulo Madeira Rodrigues, whose book about the revolution, *Suddenly in April*, has just been published. "The Portuguese have given witness that they want democracy," says the indomitable Doctora Silva. "It will succeed."

The revolutionary government in Lisbon is now dominated by "leftist" army officers, men who have publicly promised to turn the reins over to a civilian government after elections next March. But one must remember that these men all served the Salazar regime. They spring,

largely, from the elements of Portuguese society which are so strangely silent today.

It is interesting to recall that under Salazar, there were occasional, strange interludes of freedom. These occurred during one month every seven years when Presidential campaigns were tolerated. And that was the month when the secret police updated their files on the regime's opponents. The whole purpose of the political campaigns, it turned out, was to smoke out potential opposition.

It would be wrong to conclude that the current euphoria of freedom is merely a ploy. The new men appear to be genuine reformers. This past summer, for example, all medical students were sent by the government out into the country to bring health education and clinics to remote villages. Other students have been recruited into Peace Corps-type units working in backward areas of the country. An attack is being made on illiteracy. There are efforts to modernize the civil service. The excitement of freedom after almost half a century of dictatorship is appealing, even contagious. But the problems facing Portugal go far beyond cosmetic surgery. And, riding on the warm wind from Africa, a cholera epidemic, as symbolic as Camus' plague, hangs over the land. □

CITIZEN ACTION

THE WORKING-CLASS REFORMERS

DON ROSE and RICHARD ROTHSTEIN

Chicago

The blue-collar backlash and George McGovern's inability to inspire Middle America have forced most progressives to confront again the central theme of both Marxist and New Deal theory—a movement for progressive social change must be a majority movement, built with participation and leadership from ethnic and lower-middle-class working people [see "Volatile and Pivotal: Middle American Radicals" by Donald I. Warren, *The Nation*, August 17].

Numerous neo-Populists and ethnic scholars defend this "forgotten majority" against what they see as the McGovern-New Left view that social change can be accomplished by a coalition of radical minorities, youth and feminists. The mythical progressive hero is Robert Kennedy, seen as able to unite the 1960s constituencies with a New Dealish appeal to the white working class. But the prospects for a democratic Socialist or Populist movement depend only partly on the strength of the progressive arguments—which, after all, are addressed not to the blue-collar class but to other intellectuals. Unless the Left can organize a working-class political base as self-conscious as the minority, women's and youth movements, it

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will be reduced to a fruitless hope for salvation from a new charismatic hero.

Recent years have seen new organizational efforts outside trade unions. The late George Wiley tried to bring poor and working-class whites and blacks together in the Movement for Economic Justice in Little Rock, Ark. Msgr. Geno Baroni's Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs supports many efforts in Catholic communities. Former Sen. Fred Harris and UAW's Leonard Woodcock have made other coalition attempts.

One of the most impressive moves to organize a non-trade union, lower-middle and working-class base is the Citizens Action Program (CAP) of Chicago. Initiated in 1969 by trainees of the late Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), CAP has since taken on local political and economic targets in a series of well publicized and tactically sophisticated "actions" in the dramatic Alinsky style.

The IAF's path to the white working class was almost accidental. Throughout the 1960s, it went where the church money was—developing black community organizations or efforts to "stabilize" racial change. The latter generally failed, being unable to withstand local government; realtors, banks and the FHA, whose combined thrust was in the opposite direction.

The experience in black communities varied. Some groups, such as The Woodlawn Organization in Chicago, became local subcontractors for federal housing and anti-poverty programs without gaining any independent politi-

cal power. Others such as FIGHT in Rochester, N.Y. found that, while some victories were possible, the black community alone did not have the power to win major social and economic reforms.

IAF's white "middle-class" tactical orientation developed out of the Rochester experience. Alinsky's usual bag of tricks—surprise demonstrations, unconventionality and angry militancy—scarcely fazed Kodak, the corporate giant target of job demands. He then attempted to persuade national church denominations and universities to assign FIGHT their Kodak stock proxies—a means of truly seizing power. In Alinsky's last book, *Rules for Radicals*, the tactic was expanded into a national panacea—a campaign that predictably never got off the ground.

A willingness to "go where the action is" is one of the strengths of the Alinsky method—it is also a substitute for clear political analysis. When Alinsky decided that "the middle class" should be organized, he made little distinction between manipulators of stock portfolios and, say, the current president of CAP—Catholic, mother of nine, wife of a telephone company foreman. All were "middle class." CAP was preceded, for instance, by an unsuccessful IAF attempt to organize suburban liberals against pollution.

CAP (then called "Campaign Against Pollution") developed primarily from writers of angry anti-pollution letters that columnist Mike Royko turned over to Alinsky. Many came from Southwest Chicago, whose air was fouled by Commonwealth Edison and Sanitary District sewage plants. They became the core of CAP's Catholic ethnic lower-middle and working-class constituency—its most significant political asset.

In five years CAP enrolled several thousand members, including many senior citizens, mostly from ethnic white neighborhoods, but with recent black representation. The developing leadership tends to be lower-middle, the general membership working class. It has a citywide reputation for accomplishment developed by a feverish momentum of activity and publicity designed to give a feeling of growth and power.

In 1970, CAP demanded that Com-Ed reduce pollution by burning low-sulfur coal: 200 people protested a state hearing at which Edison asked for a rate increase. CAP tried the stock-purchasing tactic against Edison—it failed except for the publicity. CAP harassed the First National Bank, Edison's landlord. It threatened to urge Edison customers to delay bill payments—a threat CAP could never have carried out, but which would have created financial chaos. Hundreds of screaming demonstrators confronted aldermen and the mayor. Com-Ed announced it would begin purchasing low-sulfur coal and the Chicago city council passed a new anti-pollution law. That unusual story is documented in a film, *In Order To Change*, produced by the University of Illinois Chicago campus (Vision Quest, distributors).

U.S. Steel, whose southeast side plant pollutes another ethnic community, was next. The chairman of Sears is on the U.S. Steel board, so CAP disrupted Sears's business, demanding meetings on pollution. CAP members protested at the national convocation of the Presbyterian Church and helped prevent election of a U.S. Steel vice president as church leader.

Then CAP researchers revealed that U.S. Steel was underassessed for property taxes. At a loss for new ways to attack the pollution at U.S. Steel, CAP made tax assessment its new target, and fell into a high-potential Populist issue. Assessment practices had many tactical advantages as a target. It designated Steel as the enemy of all home owners oppressed by rising property taxes. CAP could organize through the city; past activists who could not be mobilized against Steel's pollution could be reawakened by property taxes.

The county assessor had long been (as CAP put it in one leaflet) the "bag man for the Daley machine." Big contributions come to the machine from developers and corporations in exchange for multimillion-dollar tax breaks. CAP was thus able to build support from its membership, and from "clean government" liberals and the press. In the end, assessments were raised on steel companies, race tracks, banks and railroad land; a planned increase for home owners was reduced.

The crosstown expressway, planned to slash through northwest- and southwest-side lower-middle-class communities, was CAP's next target. It is a plan favored by big business, truckers and the Daley machine, which long has prospered on road building. CAP pulled together a remarkable coalition of church and community groups from almost every parish the expressway would touch, organized confrontations with federal, state and city officials, and sponsored a torchlight march along the proposed route. Candidates in 1972 were polled about the expressway. Dan Walker, Democratic candidate for governor, came out unequivocally against it, and that contributed to his margin of victory.

Last year, CAP pressured state legislators to vote an across-the-board property-tax freeze. In addition, it took on what is potentially its most significant issue: neighborhood deterioration.

Many CAP members live in communities that cling precariously to racial and economic stability. Others live in homes to which they fled when neighborhoods changed racially and economically. Panic-peddling techniques are only part of the financial conspiracy that manipulates neighborhood change for profit. More significant are banks and insurance companies that promulgate change by "red-lining"—designating communities that will no longer receive mortgage or home-improvement loans. Most offensive are local banks and savings associations that collect a working-class neighborhood's savings and then refuse to loan in the community—investing instead in profitable suburbs. Without this crucial manipulation, realtors would find it harder to panic a neighborhood over the racial and often class line.

A new Illinois banking law makes the system even more pernicious. Inner-city savings institutions can now collect working people's savings while their suburban branches lend them out. Recent CAP demonstrations focused on neighborhood banks, regulatory agencies and elected public officials. Organizers are also attempting to develop chapters in black middle-income neighborhoods with identical problems. They are trying to punish red-lining banks by transferring savings to banks that avoid the practice.

The neighborhood-deterioration coalition—which also

raises the crime issue—offers the potential for a truly interracial lower-middle and working-class alliance around issues of self-interest. But symbolic victories will be much more difficult here than on issues of straightforward political corruption or on marginal projects such as the expressway that CAP has tackled in the past.

CAP has not enjoyed a string of unbroken victories. In its constant quest for dramatic actions and new targets to maintain members' interest and excitement, it took on many issues which it dropped when they did not catch on. Aborted campaigns include airport noise, school budgets, reducing utility rates for the elderly, drug pricing, high-rise development on the lakefront, food pricing, cable-TV licensing and nuclear power plant construction.

Nor have all CAP's members stayed as it jumped from one flashy campaign to the next. A chapter in the area of the Edison and Sanitary District plant is not in the expressway's path, and it atrophied. Some chapters that were developed during the pollution, assessment and cross-town fights are not immediately affected by red-lining and it may be difficult to hold their interest. Nonetheless, increasing numbers of neighborhood leaders are developing a broader political orientation and remain active.

It should be noted that many CAP goals are traditional reform goals: fair tax assessment, stopping a highway, ending neighborhood pollution. The basic strategy is also the same: embarrass a public official or corporate executive with the threat or reality of negative publicity and gain a "favor" through executive action. The tactical measures of noisy demonstrations and "creative disruption" for the eyes of the media are also a tradition of the 1960s. What makes them different in this case is the working-class base—these are not the people who usually engage in such tactics.

It is also necessary to point out that CAP's working- and lower-middle-class constituency is not yet well enough consolidated to wield any real political power. CAP victories have been more the result of a clever use of its resources to influence the liberal constituencies of the mass media. Its muckraking researchers provided key headlines for months when assessment scandals were being revealed. Reforms of the assessor's office came from CAP's ability to stage actions that made dramatic copy—and by a favorable decision from the new state's attorney. They were not primarily due to the electoral threat of a mobilized working-class base against the machine, or the threat of a significant taxpayers' strike. Success in the Com-Ed pollution controversy was similarly ambiguous.

In this sense, CAP has not yet passed the stage at which many black and poor people's groups stopped in the 1960s—the ability to win change from a small base by appealing to the sympathy or conscience of the influential upper-middle class. CAP has not yet offered a long-term strategy for structural change or permanent reform that does not essentially rely upon case-by-case, item-by-item favor-seeking.

In a highly politicized city such as Chicago, where real power is wielded by those who can consistently deliver votes, CAP's reluctance to sponsor candidates—another Alinsky tenet—may be a serious limitation. Two of its major accomplishments, stopping the expressway and gain-

ing a tax revaluation, were possible only through the election of two reform candidates—Governor Walker and State's Attorney Bernard Carey—who rendered pro-CAP decisions. The two were elected in part through the help of CAP's voter "education" leaflets. And while they aren't controlled by CAP, they are likely to remain responsive.

Longer-range planning by CAP must rely, however, on the continued election of officials who owe their basic allegiance to the organization. That means eventually running their own candidates or joining with other reform groups to win elections and make deeper inroads into the power structure. Demonstrations and clever publicity actions—as the civil rights movement learned—reach a point of diminishing returns in their ability to extract gestures from politicians. The group has begun to realize this, and is now planning, as part of a broad anti-crime campaign, electoral action to remove incompetent judges from the bench this November.

Even CAP's relatively small base is a significant accomplishment in view of the distance that seemingly separated white ethnics and the lower-middle class from protest movements of the 1960s. It is not surprising, then, that CAP's entry to this base was often through "closet liberals" created in these ethnic communities by earlier social movements.

CAP's first chairman, in the early days of IAF's simplistic "middle-class" orientation to the pollution fight, was Paul Booth. A former SDS national secretary who led the first challenge to the draft in 1965, he is a Socialist who joined CAP to explore ways of organizing directly against corporate power. As CAP's pollution campaign caught on in working-class areas, Booth's background became controversial. To avoid a destructive fight, a priest, Leonard Dubi, was named co-chairman for balance.

Dubi, 28, had traveled a political path parallel to that of the liberal Left in the late 1960s. Son of a steelworker, he was, like many of his seminary classmates, radicalized by Pope John, the civil rights movement and the war in Indochina. He joined anti-war demonstrations and worked in a reform political campaign. Priests like Dubi were out of step but not entirely isolated in working-class parishes. At St. Daniel's, the few parish liberals had formed a discussion group around Vatican II. They were immediately drawn to Dubi. And he began to exchange political ideas with them. Racial stereotypes will begin to break down, he told them, only when "people get together and are given a sense of their own dignity and power. When they seek power to improve their own lives, they will need and seek black allies."

Anne Alberts, 53, a resident of St. Daniel's for twenty-one years, wife of a Democratic precinct captain and Zenith foreman with five children and six grandchildren, was among those drawn to Dubi. For years she had led mothers' protests for traffic lights and complained about the smells from the nearby plants. Because of her open racial views, she also felt somewhat alienated from the community of which she was so much a part. When a young priest working for IAF enlisted Dubi in the Edison campaign, Ms. Alberts and her group of twenty-five liberals came along—half women, about one-third factory workers, the rest lower-middle-class white-collar workers

—computer technicians, insurance salesmen, et al. She became a vice president of CAP, and her husband was fired as a Democratic precinct captain.

The emergence of such “closet liberals” and young movement-influenced priests as a nucleus for a Populist movement recurs in CAP. In March 1972 Mary Lou Wolff succeeded Booth and Dubi. In the 1950s she had been a member of the liberal Catholic Young Christian Students and Young Christian Workers movements. After twenty-three years as a housewife and mother, she began looking for something creative to do at about the time when another young priest arrived at her northwest-side parish. They began a discussion group on experimental liturgy. The priest left to get married; the crosstown expressway was charted through the parish, and Ms. Wolff took her discussion group into CAP.

A mass organization of home owners, workers and housewives, not all of CAP's leadership shares this liberal history. But enough do to give conscious political direction to an organization that could deteriorate if it were organized only around its self-proclaimed motifs of self-interest and powerlessness. Most of CAP's leaders shun ideological discussions, either out of conviction or a fear of polarizing the organization. They continually state a view that strikes one as politically naive: if “the people” thrash out an idea they will reach the right decisions, therefore an ideology is unnecessary.

The leaders, however, also understand the need to cultivate a black middle-class base for the deterioration fight; they saw the Populist potential in the tax issue and guided CAP from a pollution organization to a multi-issue group; they have kept a focus on machine politics and corporate power as the constant enemies in all CAP campaigns.

CAP differs from other Alinsky-model neighborhood groups. Being a citywide organization, its issues can be more ideological than neighborhood issues (garbage collection, street cleaning)—though less ideological than national ones. But more important, a metropolitan organization is more flexible: a politically conscious leadership can move in a Populist direction by choosing the best of many issues; neighborhood groups must organize around more limited concerns. Metropolitan groups can move from a west-side sewage plant to a south-side steel mill because of the common issue of corporate power. A new constituency then can be developed and integrated with constituencies from prior campaigns. This, at least, is the CAP leadership's pattern: to maintain a careful balance between perceived self-interest and political leadership, thus developing an expanding political consciousness not possible in a traditional neighborhood organization.

According to the IAF-CAP theory, ordinary people are powerless and must organize around self-interest issues without ideological trappings. As they grow more powerful, they will require coalitions with other self-interest groups to achieve broader aims. The theory assumes that narrow self-interest conflicts between local groups can be resolved by bargaining based on power between the groups, and that national social change will come when a coalition of enough local groups is formed around national issues in the self-interest of all.

Thus far, this theory has served CAP well, but it is

obvious that CAP will be irrelevant to a national movement unless similar groups are organized in virtually every city across the nation. Should that happen, however, the theory will have to be developed well beyond this classic Alinsky view.

IAF staffer Pete Martinez, CAP's staff director from 1970-73 and a 1950s' YCW leader, tells of making a presentation about CAP at a Navajo reservation. An angered listener told him she wanted no part of IAF theories: CAP's “victory” in getting Com-Ed to burn low-sulfur coal had contributed to the intensification of strip mining that is destroying Western lands. Martinez realized he had to stop talking about CAP and explain instead how the Navajos could organize around their own need to stop strip mining. When they got powerful enough to demand that Com-Ed stop using low-sulfur coal from the strip mines, they would have to sit down with CAP and develop a joint energy policy to meet both interests.

Another CAP staffer deals with a conflict implicit in the neighborhood deterioration campaign. The lower-middle-class self-interest in stabilizing neighborhoods can conflict with the needs of an overcrowded lower-class population whose housing needs, sadly, are met only by panic-peddling and red-lining. The conflict can be resolved, he suggested, only when poor blacks are well enough organized to negotiate a common housing policy with the equally well organized CAP groups.

This theory, an oversimplified view of the Populist faith found in Alinsky's writings, assumes, first, that all powerless groups can be organized around issues of their immediate self-interest; second, that all conflicts between people's organizations can be compromised by bargaining between organized equals; third, such bargaining is the only means by which popular platforms can be developed democratically—an ideology is elitist and undemocratic, assuming more than the conscious self-interests of those it represents.

If CAP-like groups are to help lead larger movements for social change, they will have to overcome this limitation in Alinsky theory. Whatever its possibilities on a neighborhood scale, it is clear that in a metropolitan, and certainly in a national context, the notion of social policy emerging from the nonideological bargaining of scores of interest groups is inconceivable. If Chicagoans, Navajos, blacks, home owners, renters, ethnic whites, rate payers, bus riders and autoworkers are to project a progressive national program, it will have to be based largely on an ideological view of a decent life, not on a marathon bargaining session to compromise short-run interests.

It is also clear that the bargaining power of self-interest groups varies without relation to social justice. Neighborhood deterioration is the ideal issue for CAP to be working on at this time; but CAP's sensitivity to the availability of low-income housing will have to be based on more than the bargaining power of organized poor blacks if CAP's claim to progressive, nonracist leadership is sustained.

CAP's leadership is facing these issues. There is an attempt to rethink many of the organizing nostrums derived from a neighborhood context. There are ongoing internal education seminars for the leadership that cover not only tactical techniques for demonstrations but also

political education of a more ideological nature. This kind of education will become ever more crucial as CAP's leadership is drawn less from YCW leaders of the 1950s, and more from the crosstown fighters of 1972.

Yet the relevance of CAP to a national Populist or Socialist movement will depend very little, ultimately, on decisions of the CAP leadership. It can be relevant

beyond being a hometown pressure group only if the advocates of such a movement organize similar groups in every working and lower-middle-class town in this country, and if these groups are reinforced by new grass-roots militancy within trade union organizations. In the absence of these, all CAP will have proved is that it could have been done. □

IN PRISON: CONTAGION OF SUICIDE

SCOTT CHRISTIANSON

Albany, N. Y.

On June 14, a 28-year-old black prisoner named Leonard B. Smith hanged himself in his cell at the Albany County Penitentiary, thus becoming the fourth suicide at that institution in less than a year. He was the forty-ninth inmate to die in a penal institution in New York State in 1974, the twenty-second to take his own life.

Smith had been confined on the jail's grand jury tier for 114 days, awaiting court action on an assault charge. Although two psychiatrists had diagnosed him as a "paranoid schizophrenic with delusions of persecution," and a judge had ruled him incompetent to stand trial, he had received no special care or supervision. He had apparently become despondent when he lost his supervisory job with the State Department of Civil Service, and was exasperated by his repeated futile attempts to secure psychiatric help. Now, after six months in captivity—his first and last time in a cell—he gave up.

The bureaucratic red tape that had delayed his transfer continued its stranglehold even after he was discovered hanging in his cell. Inmates were afraid to cut him down until someone in authority arrived. There was no doctor present to revive the victim or pronounce him dead. Then, when the ambulance arrived, the rescue squad refused to touch him until the sheriff appeared and personally ordered them to act. By then Leonard Smith was dead, or at least assumed to be dead—the ambulance squad merely carted him away.

For several days, the sheriff, county court judge, district attorney and mental health authorities all denied blame in the case. Jail officials expressed surprise, picturing Smith as a "model inmate" who, they said, had never acted suicidal. But inmates reported that he had appeared in the mess hall that night wearing bed-sheets around his neck and down the front of his T-shirt.

Smith's case was unique in some respects—he held a master's degree in sociology from Brown University—but it was not an isolated tragedy. For the last several years, county jails across the country have been reporting a drastic increase in inmate suicides and attempted suicides. In the last decade, for instance, New York City jails have registered approximately eighty suicides, twenty-

two of them in one recent eleven-month stretch; Albany's rate was about one death for every 1,000 inmates admitted during 1973, which was six times more than that for the general population, and twice that of the nation's jail population. Figures compiled by the New York State Correction Medical Review Board show that last year there were 102 inmate deaths in the state's penal institutions, thirty-nine of them apparent suicides.

This seeming contagion, which parallels that of spreading prison and jail disturbances, is one of many curious phenomena currently being studied by psychologists and lawyers. Even at this late date in American penology, however, very little substantial research has been conducted to explain why so many—or so few—prisoners kill or mutilate themselves. As with other distasteful aspects of incarceration, the problem by and large continues to receive only cursory, post-mortem treatment.

Probably the most intensive study has been performed by Prof. Hans Toch of the School of Criminal Justice of the State University of New York at Albany, with funds from the Center for Studies of Suicide Prevention and the Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency. Toch and his associates view self-mutilation as endemic to penal institutions generally, noting: "Nothing commensurate occurs in the free world, or exists in other settings. If a problem even remotely similar should arise in the outside world it would provoke outrage, panic and intervention."

Among the more noteworthy findings of some of the early studies is the apparent overrepresentation of whites and Latins, as well as the higher suicide rate among those being held in detention. Prison officials also say that suicide has a more upsetting effect on prison administration than any other type of institutional disturbance.

Within the last few years, a handful of institutions have established "suicide prevention squads" comprised of inmates who counsel high-risk prisoners against injuring themselves. In some cases, this crisis-oriented peer approach appears to have worked fairly well, but some psychologists have urged that the programs be expanded to include the general population.

One of the major problems contributing to inmate anxiety has been the terrible slowness with which the criminal justice system processes criminal defendants. A jail census conducted in 1970 by the U.S. Bureau of the Census found that of the 160,863 persons held on the census date, 27,460 had not been arraigned, 8,688 were awaiting post-conviction legal action, and 69,096 were

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San Francisco Chronicle

serving sentences. That is, 52 per cent of the jail population in the nation's 4,037 institutions had not been convicted of the crime for which they were being held.

Two weeks before Leonard Smith hanged himself, New York State enacted legislation to reduce the treacherous

delays in transfers of "mentally ill" prisoners from county jails to state mental hospitals. The law may help to alleviate some inmate anxiety over the status of their cases, but its effect on the level of inmate suicides may not be as great as some legislators have hoped. For one thing, most suicides occur almost immediately after entry into jail; for another, self-injury rates in mental facilities are often just as steep as those in penal institutions, even though the former usually provide closer supervision.

Before the problem of inmate suicides can be intelligently addressed, the shameful conditions which characterize so many of the nation's jails will have to be attacked on a massive scale. They are overcrowded, filthy, archaic, understaffed, and totally without the most token programs—86 per cent of the jails surveyed in 1970 had no recreational facilities, and 89 per cent had no educational facilities. Most local jails are also almost fanatical in their orientation toward custody so that the confined are left to solve their own problems and kill their own time. For some, the only escape is suicide.

A young inmate who hanged himself in Manhattan's Tombs left behind him this clue to explain his final act:

City of strangers,
and I don't think they know me
Nor care about my woes.
I'm just, they say, at heart a bum,
an earth-rejected scum.
So you see, oh what's the name—democracy?
I'd sooner say bureaucracy,
but what the hell if I can spell.
I'm just a stick to you, but I love you.
Together, we can save the world for our kids. □

LETTERS (Continued from page 226)

trary to Mr. Olson, the Reactor Safety Study headed by Prof. Norman Rasmussen has considered the "worst case" approach.

We at the AEC are attempting to provide information to the public upon which it can base its judgments on the role of nuclear power in helping to meet our energy needs. Some of the issues are controversial and they deserve a thorough airing. But they should be judged in an objective manner, which considers both the benefits and the risks. Regrettably, *The Nation's* story fell far short of that mark.

John A. Harris, Director
Office of Information Services

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIRs: It is fatuous to cite citations from the insurance industry in behalf of atomic power. Both insurance pools and nuclear utilities are protected by Congress. A major nuclear accident, according to the most conservative estimates, would result in billions of dollars in property damages alone. The Price-Anderson Act limits the liability for a single nuclear accident to \$560 million, of which all but \$110 million is covered by taxpayer dollars. If nuclear power is as safe as its proponents claim, there would be no hesitation on the part of the nuclear utilities and the insurance companies to assume responsibility for total damages in the event of a nuclear accident. This, as a demonstration of monetary faith, would be a rebuttal to those such as Ralph Nader, who claims, "if there were no Price-Anderson, there would be no more nuclear power plants constructed."

Most of the points which the AEC letter of August 14 raises were also examined at some length in my article. I would, however, like to make a central point stronger: the basic shortcoming of all AEC bodies, boards and hearings is that they are populated for the most part by individuals who favor nuclear development, which means that life-and-death questions under the auspices of the AEC are more often debated in terms of *how* and *when* than of *if* and *should*. Here in the Midwest, David D. Comey, environmental director of the Chicago-based Businessmen for the Public Interest, and Myron Cherry, an environmental lawyer, have been demonstrating the precedent-making effectiveness of utilizing non-AEC governmental bodies to oppose or moderate the massive drive to increase both the size and number of atomic power plants.

And last, another word, please, about plutonium. A large atomic power plant operating at full capacity produces more than a couple hundred pounds (a conservative figure) of plutonium a year. The proposed breeder (plutonium) reactor of the immediate future would utilize a ton or more of plutonium in its operation. The reason reputable authorities are wont to say that plutonium is the most dangerous substance is twofold: its lethal capabilities and its extreme toxic longevity.

An ounce of plutonium could cause a worldwide epidemic of lung cancer. Plutonium, if exposed to air, ignites spontaneously; as it burns, it forms tiny particles of plutonium dioxide. An ounce of plutonium could form 10 trillion particles, of plutonium dioxide, which could remain in the atmosphere with lethal implications for hundreds of thousands of years.

The AEC spokesman refers to the "impossibility of dispersing the plutonium." What makes him so sure?

McKinley C. Olson

BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Mark Twain of American Socialism

IF YOU DON'T WEAKEN: The Autobiography of Oscar Ameringer. Greenwood Press. 476 pp. \$20.50.

JAMES R. GREEN

During the "Golden Age of American Socialism" in the years before World War I, many radicals displayed an acute sense of humor. This important human quality was only one, among many, that enabled the Socialists of Eugene Debs's era to make grass-roots contact with a wide range of Americans from German brewers in Wisconsin to redneck tenant farmers in Oklahoma. The greatest humorist of the old-time Socialist movement was Oscar Ameringer, the son of a Bavarian cabinetmaker, who came to the United States in the 1880s and became an important leader in the powerful Midwestern and Southwestern Socialist movements of the early 20th century.

Ameringer's career symbolized the strengths of the Debsian Socialist movement because his remarkable sense of humor, nurtured in the storytelling contests of Swabian beer gardens, appealed not only to the German-American brewers of Cincinnati, Milwaukee and New Orleans but also to the share tenants of Oklahoma and the coal miners of Illinois. Ameringer published popular Socialist-labor newspapers in all of those places and, although he attracted many readers with punchy writing and good storytelling, it was really his radical wit that made him famous. In fact, Oscar's comrades appreciated his folksy sense of humor so much that they called him "The Mark Twain of American Socialism."

It is easy to see why Ameringer won this title after reading his delightful autobiography, *If You Don't Weaken*. Originally published in 1940, three years before Ameringer's death, this remarkable memoir, now available in a new edition, takes the reader on an interesting journey through the life of one of the most colorful figures in the history of American radicalism. This relatively unknown book also tells us a great deal about the strengths and weaknesses of Debsian socialism in two regions where it made a significant impact, the Midwest, notably Wisconsin and, somewhat surprisingly, the Southwest, especially Oklahoma.

Now that our attention is being directed to a number of new autobiographies written by labor radicals active in the 1930s, notably Len DeCaux, Farrell

Dobbs, Wyndham Mortimer and Al Richmond, and those who were interviewed by Alice and Staughton Lynd for *Rank and File*, their excellent collection of oral histories, it may be time to remember some of the older books in this fascinating literary genre. Oscar Ameringer's *If You Don't Weaken* is a good deal more interesting than most of the recent autobiographies of labor radicals because it is broader in scope and more concerned with the human problems of the Socialist movement than with the factional or institutional history of the Left. By the same token, this book outclasses the two best autobiographies of old social democrats, Morris Hillquit's *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life* (1934) and James Maurer's *It Can Be Done* (1938). Furthermore, Ameringer's memoir is as exciting as the stories of the rough-and-tumble Wobblies recounted in *Bill Haywood's Book* (1929), Ralph Chaplin's *Wobbly* (1948) and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's *Rebel Girl* (1955). There were only two radicals of Ameringer's generation who wrote memoirs of greater sweep and style. Emma Goldman, the inimitable anarchist, wrote her wonderful book, *Living My Life*, in 1931 and W.E.B. Du Bois contributed a classic to the tradition of black autobiography when he wrote *Dusk of Dawn* in 1941. However, none of these dissenters display the sense of humor that made Oscar Ameringer famous; that quality has been all too rare among American radicals of the post-World War I era.

The story of Oscar Ameringer's life is particularly interesting because it touched the lives of so many other American radicals, and because it spanned the life of the first indigenous American Socialist movement that began with the publication of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* in the 1880s and ended with Eugene Debs's death in 1926. Ameringer arrived in America just in time for the great labor upheaval of 1886. After eking out an existence as a painter and a musician in the Ohio countryside, Oscar went to Cincinnati to practice his father's trade of cabinetmaker and, as a member of a woodworkers' local in the Knights of Labor,

James Green, an editor of Radical America magazine, is working on a study of the Southwestern Socialist movement in the 20th century.

he marched with an armed column of his fellow workers in the first May Day parade. "Things were getting serious" during the time of the Haymarket affair, he wrote. "Many of us called ourselves anarchists without, I am sure, being able to distinguish between anarchy and anarchy."

After a visit to Bavaria in 1890, Ameringer came back to the States impressed with the German Social Democrats. But Oscar was always a bit different. Unlike most German immigrants with Socialist leanings, he was as impressed with the writings of Henry George and Edward Bellamy as he was with the more "scientific" works of Wilhelm Liebknecht and Karl Kautsky. That was always Ameringer's great strength as a propagandist; he saw socialism in American terms, and expressed it in our idiom while many of his comrades still thought of socialism in European terms and expressed it in translated German. This made his lecturing and writing popular in Oklahoma City as well as in Milwaukee.

In fact, after just a few years in America, Oscar had so familiarized himself with American speech and humor (partly by reading Mark Twain) that he was able to write humorous pieces for magazines like *Puck*. Eventually, Ameringer's reputation as a writer won him a job as an editor of a labor paper sponsored by the Brewers' union, which was dominated by German Socialists. This was the first of many journalistic jousts with union leaders that convinced the author that "running a labor paper was like feeding butter on the end of a hot awl to an infuriated wildcat." Most labor papers, he wrote, were like other "court organs." They usually contained "fulsome accounts of the junketings of union officials" who, "with some exceptions," regarded "their editor as no more than a subsidized plugger for the songs they sang." They also included a so-called "educational" page consisting of a mishmash of boiler-plate items "conveying such exciting statistics as the number of quadruplets born annually in Borneo, or the amazing performances of a whistling pony in Arizona." Although the "union hierarchy" usually wanted their editor to be nothing more than a "court jester" or "press agent," Ameringer found that the Brewers gave him a bit of latitude, especially in his attacks on Sam Gompers and AFL craft unionism, which

the socialistic brewery workers opposed. When Ameringer was sent to New Orleans to help out in a bitter strike caused by a jurisdictional dispute between the independent Brewers' union and the AFL trade unions, he wrote one of his most famous satires, "Union Scabs and Others," a biting criticism of craft-union factionalism.

When the brewery workers finally made peace with the AFL, Ameringer was fired. Having spent a good deal of time and effort at interracial organizing in New Orleans, Oscar jumped at the chance to become a field organizer for the Jeans Foundation, which devoted "some millions to uplifting poor whites and Negroes of the South." Rather than start work in the Deep South, he chose to go to Oklahoma where there were weaker lines of resistance to "white and black uplift." "Another reason I gave was that a live Socialist movement had developed in Oklahoma, a fact which indicated to me a high degree of intelligence on the part of its population."

Indeed, the Socialists had built up a movement in the Oklahoma territories by recruiting heavily indebted Populist farmers in the West and militant coal miners in the Indian Nation to the East. In fact, the Socialist Party of Oklahoma was one of the fastest growing movements in the country when Ameringer arrived in 1907 on the eve of statehood. By 1912, Oscar and his comrades had helped to organize the largest state Socialist organization in the country, with more than fifty weekly newspapers and a dues-paying membership larger than that of New York State. By this time most of the Socialists in Oklahoma were poor-white tenant farmers, the same people who would eventually be "traced out" by agricultural capitalists in the 1930s. Like most Socialists, Ameringer knew nothing about this growing class of rural poor people until he came to Oklahoma and saw them with his own eyes. Oscar's experiences with the Bavarian peasants and the farmers of Ohio had convinced him that rural folk were inevitably fat, contented and conservative.

That all changed when the young "world saver," grumbling about the "idiocy of rural life," took his first organizing trip out into the old Indian Territory. There he met the depressed remnants of the once-proud Choctaw Nation and the equally impoverished share tenants of land speculators and planter capitalists. "They had followed on the heels of the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles, like the stragglers of routed armies," Ameringer wrote, "always hoping that somewhere in their America there would

be a piece of dirt for them." Among the horrors Ameringer saw were "youngsters emaciated by hookworms, malnutrition, and pellagra, who had lost their second teeth before they were twenty years old." The things he saw on that trip were, he remarked, the "things you never forget." Ameringer's descriptions of the Okies in the early years of their odyssey rank with Steinbeck's fictional depictions and the photographs of Margaret Bourke-White and Dorothea Lange. In 1941 when Carey McWilliams wrote his study of the migrant-labor problem, *Ill Fares the Land*, he drew on Oscar's memoir to help reconstruct the origins of the Okies' tragic dilemma. But, by that time, these poor-white tenants were being forced to move "out onto Highway 66 on their final journey to Gethsemane." When Oscar first met them, they were preparing to stand and fight their last big battle against the fate capitalism had in store for them. The Okies had chosen the old Socialist movement as the vehicle for their resistance.

If You Don't Weaken provides one of the few first-hand accounts available of that remarkable radical movement. Nothing captured the spirit of the Oklahoma Socialists better than their week-long summer encampments. They were, as Ameringer explained, "lineal descendants of the religious and Populist camp meetings of former years," and they were so popular that people came in wagons from as far away as 70 miles to hear radical revivalists like Eugene Debs and Mother Jones, and to attend informal "mass lessons" in history and economics taught by Ameringer and other Socialist instructors who used "texts" like Oscar's pamphlet, "The Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam, A Little History for Big Children," which sold a half-million copies before World War I. "After the night meetings," he recalled,

... discussions around the glowing campfire continued into the wee small hours. For these people radicalism was not an intellectual plaything. Pressure was upon them. They were looking for delivery from the Eastern monster whose lair they saw in Wall Street. They took to their Socialism like a new religion.

To Oscar "these frontier people" were the best audience he encountered in his "long experience of riling up the people." They were "of more than average intelligence," and "they followed the main points easily and caught even the more subtle points quickly." Moreover, "humor appealed to them immensely, for they belonged to that tribe from which America's great humorists—from Mark Twain down to Oklahoma's own Will Rogers—have derived their inspiration." Well, they inspired Oscar too, and, as a

CONTINUUM

*Don't ask me where they went
jumping from sunny bridges
falling, falling.*

*My great-grandfather
looks correct
in his narrow album.
My father, too.*

*Do you see the iron sea horse
how it clangs? Carved in the
stone of its pedestal is my
father's name.*

*And I stumble
down the sunlit terrace
to that statue
knowing yes knowing
its passage
through whose hands
it passes to this campus grove.
Here the generations pat
the cold metallic back
listen to the echo. . .*

*I, too, will deny
the fine line celebrated
by funerals . . . my blood
runs thick and easy
under my thin skin.
I hear trees fall alone
in forests as my will
skirrs free through moonlight
on the backs of owls. Look!
I even force-feed my eyes:
a sky of sunflowers
is swelling heaps of gold.*

Anne S. Perlman

result, he earned himself a niche in that great comic tradition called "Southwestern humor."

Unfortunately, the "splendid Socialist movement" Ameringer and his comrades helped to build did not survive the federal suppression and vigilante repression of World War I. Reaction was especially severe in Oklahoma, a leading center of anti-war and draft-resistance activity. After attempting to help out Victor Berger and his beleaguered Milwaukee Socialist organization, Ameringer returned to Oklahoma at the height of the wartime hysteria to raise money for a new Socialist daily newspaper. Needless to say, he was frustrated.

But after the war Oscar was able to start a daily with the help of some comrades who wanted to get rid of the hated Liberty Bonds they were forced to buy. He also received some help from sympathetic bankers with whom he seemed to have a Midas touch, and from a young comrade named Freda Hogan, who learned the ropes by helping her father

put out a Socialist paper in an Arkansas mining town.

Together they recruited several experienced Socialists and published the *Oklahoma Leader* in the early 1920s; this excellent paper became the organ of a surprisingly strong farmer-labor movement that captured the Democratic Party with Non-Partisan League methods and went on to put a "people's governor" in the statehouse in 1922, despite the opposition of the strongest Ku Klux Klan in the country. While Socialists throughout the nation found themselves disillusioned or factionalized beyond hope, the determined Oklahomans continued to exercise a strong radical influence in state affairs through their daily newspaper. Shortly after their victory, Oscar, Freda, and other Oklahoma radicals were crushed to discover that their people's governor was a charlatan who had been bought out by the oil companies and the KKK. This experience moved Ameringer to coin this saying: "Politics is the art by which politicians extract money from the rich and votes from the poor on the pretext of protecting each from the other."

Freda, who is still alive and well in Oklahoma City, told me recently that this fiasco "permanently dampened our ardor for anybody outside the radical ranks." She and Oscar and most of the other radicals in Oklahoma lost faith in politicians as a result of their experience, and for that reason, among others, she hopes that *If You Don't Weaken* will be published in a paperback edition before the next election.

After working together on the *Illinois Miner*, and fighting John L. Lewis' growing dictatorship in the United Mine Workers, Oscar and Freda returned to Oklahoma when the depression began; they got married and promptly started yet another Socialist paper, *The American Guardian*, which provided its far-flung readership with high-quality radical journalism through the 1930s. The founders of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union were converted to socialism by reading it. The Ameringers were also heartened by the path their old opponent John L. Lewis took in the CIO years. As Freda put it, "I thought maybe the fight Oscar made on him over those early years actually bore fruit."

But even if this fight and the others that Oscar Ameringer waged did not bear fruit in the end, his autobiography is well worth reading. His gradualistic, "evolutionary" brand of socialism and his idealizing of great labor leaders (including the later Lewis) will seem outdated, if not offensive, to some radicals. But everyone on the Left who has embarked on the "long march" to revolutionize this society has something to learn from *If You Don't Weaken*—not only about the strengths and weaknesses of American socialism but about the unusual sense of humor and the respect for humanity that radicals like Oscar Ameringer brought to the struggle for what they called the "cooperative commonwealth." Indeed, all readers, whatever their politics, may profit from reading the engaging story of a dissenter who did not allow hard times to dampen his wit or weaken his spirit. □

The Music of Thelonious Monk

ALAN ROSENTHAL

Thelonious Sphere Monk, a name well-known even to those only peripherally acquainted with modern jazz, will certainly be remembered as one of the unique and original minds in 20th-century music. Monk is a gruff, taciturn, gentle man who lives in his own "crazy" world, which coincides with the world of ordinary people only at certain points, and certainly not by design. In the late 1950s, he seemed the archetype, the very model, of the classic beatnik. His beard (probably the most famous beard in jazz), his sunglasses, his never-ending succession of unusual headgear, his mystical outbursts addressed to anyone within earshot—all of these added up to a personality as offbeat and colorful as was his music. Certainly, the nonmusical aspects of Monk contributed much to his then-burgeoning popularity.

Although I have never met Monk, I have the strong impression that everything about the man—his name, his appearance, his personality and his music—is the uniform manifestation of a single extraordinary consciousness. One feels, at the center of that consciousness, an inner core of the greatest serenity. Thus, we cannot attribute to mere courage or tenacity the fact that, during his long period of poverty and obscure laboring, Monk never yielded to external pressures or turned in upon himself in anguished doubt. His uniqueness is so effortless, so devoid of affectation or pretense, that he seems incapable of conceiving of being something other than what he is.

One can take almost any aspect of Monk's music as a point of departure for discussing his uniqueness. To cite the most striking example: he is one of the few great jazz composers. Most jazz musi-

cians concentrate their energies on developing as improvisers. The pre-composed and improvised parts of a Monk performance, however, are far more integrated with each other, far more interwoven, than they are in the work of most jazzmen. And, more important, the compositions on which he improvises really are just that: compositions—carefully worked out, intriguingly constructed, brilliant, and more consistently memorable than those of anyone else except, perhaps, Duke Ellington.

These "tunes" of Monk's are on such a consistently high level that it is hard to single out particular examples for special attention. When one listens to Monk's music for the first time, his style, that characteristic Monk "sound" that pervades everything he does, makes itself felt virtually in the first chord. In only two or three seconds, the listener can grasp the broad outlines of an entire musical ethos, so free is Monk's music from connotations of other styles previously heard. What continues to reveal itself, from moment to moment and from piece to piece, is the *breadth* that Monk has brought to bear on a style that seems, at first, so remarkably uniform. From the frantic, joyous onrush of energy in *Four in One* to the almost immobile dark richness of *Crepuscle with Nellie*, Monk has managed to reveal a new and striking aspect of himself in almost every piece he has written.

Monk's musical ancestry can be traced to the black "swing" music of the 1930s, and especially to a style of piano-playing then that is sometimes known as "Harlem-style" or "stride." The late, great Fats Waller was the leading practitioner of this style, and Monk was playing like Waller in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The few surviving recordings made by Monk during this period show a facile but unremarkable musician.

The change must have taken place sometime between 1941 and 1947. In the latter year, Monk made his first recordings as a leader, and these show his style as having fully evolved into its essential present form. At that time, jazz was in the throes of the "bebop" movement, a miniature musical revolution that had freed musicians from many of the self-imposed limitations of an earlier era. Drummers no longer had to pound out every beat. Pianists, freed from the constricting left-hand "vamps" and suave harmonic lushness of their predecessors, developed a more angular and exploratory way of playing. Hornmen could stretch and compress their phrases, adding and dropping accents in unpredictable places. But Monk, while in the

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THE FIRST FORTY YEARS LIKE A PUFFBALL

*This morning I'm lying here in bed
Breathing easy.*

*Plump pincushion with no pins in it
Relaxed, dusty
Puffball sitting on an old bureau*

*And the years, yes, the years
Of course will stick more pins in me
As they go by*

*Still there is no taste like the taste of the clouds
Swirling around this mountain,*

*Bald hilltop stuck all over with pine trees
But beautiful, I say, over the red earth
Swinging my arms at the sky*

*And looking down from the heights of my head
Over the lumps of my body remark
As yet there are few damages to assess*

*And would have been less
If I had brought you this small piece of ground,
This green hummock for you to stand on
If I had brought myself to you sooner—*

*Then what?
The first forty years like a stuck pig,*

*Like a wounded porcupine bristling
Inside my own fence, my steel cage
I had to spend climbing*

To reach you.

*Now, on this summit,
The thick branches of your arms
Sheltering my nakedness like a fur coat*

*At long last I am able to look out
And down
Like anyone else the world stretches before me*

*Behind clouds bleeding, mysterious
But still beautiful, and with a degree of calm.*

Patricia Goedicke

bebop movement, was not really of it. He was there when bebop was in its infancy. His musical crowd was, in fact, the bebop vanguard of the early 1940s—men like Charley Christian, Dizzy Gillespie and Kenny Clarke. But Monk's idea of what his colleagues were doing, and of how to do those things himself, led him off on a path that was very much his own.

For example, the melodic lines of bebop tunes were complex and full of notes, very unlike the popular songs that swing musicians had played. And they always seemed to be rushing along, as if in a hurry to get somewhere. The melodies of Monk's tunes were, in contrast, almost primitively bare. They abounded in fragments of Tin Pan Alley

clichés, twisted so that they now pointed in weird harmonic directions; but they retained an aura of repose and leisure reminiscent of music of the 1930s. A similar contrast existed between the fast-paced, intense, virtuoso exuberance of bebop improvisation and the spooky silences and barren simplicity of Monk's solos.

There were important harmonic differences, too. Bebop had gone far in enlarging the harmonic vocabulary of swing, expanding the more basic chords into augmented combinations of notes, adding the types of colors and textures utilized so exhilaratingly by such bebop musicians as Bud Powell and Tadd Dameron. But Monk's harmonies went several steps further. His chords were

dissonant clusters of notes that often seemed to be groping for some sound, some sort of musical meaning, which could not be expressed on a conventional instrument. Monk once said that he would often strike two adjacent notes on the piano in an attempt to get at the note between the two. One can hear, in Monk's harmonies, this seeming attempt to express simultaneously every sound or combination of sounds made possible by its being a given moment in a given piece. Moreover, whole phrases of Monk's tunes—whole tunes, in a few cases—were without any tonal center at all. Instead, the transition from each chord to the next would create a sort of momentary or instantaneous tonality, resulting from the interaction of the two chords. Then, this tonality would change with the arrival of a third chord. In short, the listener's entire frame of harmonic reference was constantly shifting.

These shifts and contrasts reveal themselves in the series of recordings that Monk made for Blue Note between 1947 and 1952. The results of these sessions, while today the least-known of all Monk's recordings, are fascinating to listen to. The fact that they were intended for 78 rpm release and therefore limited to three minutes or less, enforced a conceptual clarity and conciseness of a kind missed by many people after the advent of the LP. Anyone investing in the three albums containing all these recordings (one of them issued under Milt Jackson's name) will be treating himself to a feast of Monk originals—twenty-two in all. And although one should not, in general, expect illuminating glimpses into other musicians' work in these sessions (few musicians of importance participated in them), there are a few notable exceptions: drummer Art Blakey (even then, he was always at his driving, punctuating, Blakeyesque best when playing with Monk); vibes player Milt Jackson, already master of his instrument, although, in common with almost every musician of the time, not particularly tuned in to Monk's subtleties; and alto-saxophonist Sahib Shihab, whose musical intelligence and fluidity with "chord changes" I have always admired.

Between the late 1940s and the early 1950s bebop began to evolve into something new, and black musicians eased up a bit on the combined frenzy and severity of much of the bebop aesthetic. The new music that resulted was given the apt and descriptive name "hard bop"—hard because, replacing the fluidity and malleability of bebop improvisation, the music now had a deliberate toughness; and replacing bebop's often blinding brilliance, there was now

a measure of earthy simplicity—"funk," as it came to be called.

While Monk himself has never really changed stylistically at any time since the late 1940s, the transitions going on around him have always had important effects on the overall sound of his music, just as a changing backdrop will bring out and highlight different aspects of a visual object. In a "hard bop" setting, the relaxed pacing and sense of elbowroom that had always been a part of Monk's music were qualities endemic to the current style. His rhythmic and harmonic complexities, however, stood out more than ever, as hard bop was a simpler music than bebop both in its rhythms and in its harmonies.

At any rate, the combination of Monk and the prevalent black jazz style of the mid-1950s produced a much more expansive, relaxed atmosphere in his recordings. It also introduced many new compositions and musicians into the Monk discography. Among the latter, perhaps the most significant was tenor-saxophonist Sonny Rollins, whose playing, in a 1954 quintet session, glows with big-toned, sardonic good humor. A trio session, also from 1954, with Percy Heath on bass and Art Blakey on drums, is one of my favorites among all Monk's recordings. Crisp and clear

both musically and sonically, it seems to me to epitomize what Monk is all about. Included are a long, slow version of one of Monk's most famous tunes, *Blue Monk*—a disarmingly simple blues theme, but a compositional masterpiece nonetheless—and two other Monk compositions that show him at his most oblique (*Work*) and at his most good-natured (*Nutty*). Both of these 1954 sessions, as well as three other sessions from 1952 and 1953, are contained in a double album on Prestige, a bargain at its list price of \$7.98.

In 1955, Monk began recording for Riverside, and this turned out to have been a very lucky move. Riverside was the first record company to really try to find a wider audience for Monk's music, and one cannot help thinking that Monk's sudden popularity in the late 1950s was thanks, in no small part, to their efforts. Riverside went out of business in 1964, but the tapes are now in the hands of the man who was the company's musical director—Orrin Keepnews—and he has already issued two double albums of Monk's Riverside material (also list priced at \$7.98) on his new label, Milestone. One of them, *Pure Monk*, consists entirely of unaccompanied piano solos that show Monk at his most abstract and compositional,

as well as at his most reflective and serene. All these qualities are doubtless a result of the increased freedom of playing solo. The other Milestone set, *Thelonious Monk and John Coltrane*, documents the beautiful musical relationship between these men during their brief period of playing together in 1957. Included are four tracks by the group that brought Monk fame almost overnight when it opened at New York's Five Spot Café: the quartet of Monk, Coltrane, Wilbur Ware (bass) and Shadow Wilson (drums). This was perhaps the greatest Monk group ever to play together regularly. There are also five pieces by a septet that included the great swing tenor-saxophonist Coleman Hawkins, and a magnificent-as-ever Art Blakey on drums.

As the 1950s progressed, jazz began heading for a second major upheaval, which took place in the early 1960s: the so-called *avant-garde* or "new thing" movement. The very beginnings of the impulses which ultimately led to this new, free, often atonal music can be heard in Coltrane's playing on the 1957 septet session, especially in his fiery solo on *Well You Needn't*. But the real birth of the *avant-garde* was still a few years off, and Coltrane was not even to be one



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of its notable exponents at first. When the new music finally did hit full force, it was the first time since bebop that Monk's music was incompatible with the most radical jazz being played. It is far-fetched to suggest that this had anything to do with the considerable drop in the quality of Monk's music-making in the early 1960s, but the two events nevertheless happened at about the same time. Monk seemed to have suddenly crossed a thin barrier between playing consistently, intensely beautiful music in a unique style and merely repeating himself, coasting on past discoveries. Perhaps he just got tired. Perhaps his newfound popularity affected him adversely, although, if this were true, I would find it a strange contradiction of his personality as I see it. At any rate, Monk's later recordings (from 1962 to 1971—the last few on Riverside, a large number on Columbia and the most recent on Black Lion) present, on the whole, a rather plodding, anemic copy of his earlier music. There are patches of brilliance and beauty in many of them, but they serve mainly as a sort of appendix, letting us know what Monk has been up to lately—at least as lately as three years ago. Perhaps that slacking off of Monk's creative energy was almost pre-programmed—given the manner in which his music was sprung full-blown upon the

world and then never budged an inch. However, I can't help thinking that as long as there is a Thelonious Monk, something will revive his musical inspiration. (I have heard good reports about some of his live appearances over the last few years, but not having heard him myself, I am in no position to confirm or deny them.) For the moment, however, we can but hope that his health, which has been poor lately, will improve, and

that he will be able to start playing more regularly again.

In the meantime, there are always the aforementioned albums on Blue Note, Prestige and Milestone, any of which will serve as a splendid introduction to a man whose music is one of the miracles of jazz history. After all, who could have anticipated anything remotely like this strange, beautiful music, if Monk had not come along? □

Churchillian Volumes

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL. *General Editor: Frederick Woods. The Library of Imperial History. 34 Vols. 17,000 pp. \$2,500.*

WINSTON S. CHURCHILL: His Complete Speeches, 1897-1963. *Edited by Robert Rhodes James. Chelsea House and R. R. Bowker. 8 Vols. 8,917 pp. \$185.*

JON FOREMAN

Churchill's luster has dimmed since his death nine years ago. Studies have altered the image of a steel-ribbed wartime savior, cigar protruding from a bulldog face below the uplifted V fingers. Biographers emphasize his dictatorial attitude, his impulsiveness and instability, his arrogant pursuit of glory and his florid style. The hero of 1940 is extinct in the Watergate era.

Churchill was born 100 years ago, and another century might elapse before an adequate historical perspective is gleaned from what actually is a vast spectrum of qualities. But his centenary offers an excuse for a renewed study of the man with a view toward a provisional verdict.

Plenty of material is at hand for the undertaking. Critical biographies by Robert Payne, R.W. Thompson and Ronald Lewin have appeared this year. Churchill's collection of profiles, *Great Contemporaries*, has been reissued. Overshadowing the others, however, are two new massive collections of Churchill's entire literary and oratorical output—in effect, it is Churchill's own case for himself.

They constitute an impressive brief. The collected-works edition arranges all fifty of Churchill's published books into thirty-four beautiful volumes bound in vellum, and supposedly designed to last 500 years. The eight-volume set of

speeches assembles virtually all of the 2,500 Churchill addresses, usually with complete texts but occasionally in extract form. Many of the speeches are preceded by remarks of the collection's editor, Robert Rhodes James, a British historian and the author of a perceptive study of Churchill's pre-World War II career.

Churchill's fortunes seesawed between the summit of power and the depths of political impotence. The glow of his World War II triumphs nearly obscures for many his earlier adversities. His early political rise was meteoric, propelled by his family name, a glamorous war record (including an escape from a Boer prison) and a respectable body of literary work—four histories and a novel. All this he had accomplished before his entry into Parliament in 1901 at the age of 26.

Churchill rapidly rose to the forefront of British affairs. He involved himself in colonial matters and social reforms; later he lost much good will through his activities as a law-and-order Home Secretary. Three years after his arrival in the House of Commons, he switched parties. He was pushy, colorful and brilliant, a man apart in the depth of his talent and undisguised ambition. On the eve of World War I he was in charge of the British Navy as First Lord of the Admiralty, but all facets of military and foreign policy drew his sometimes obtrusive interest and remarks.

The disastrous 1915 Gallipoli campaign, which Churchill had advocated, drove him out of the wartime cabinet and deprived him of public confidence for the next twenty-five years. His past was eclipsed and his future was dark. He himself believed that his political career was finished. But his energy and persistence kept him from going under completely. He stayed in politics during the 1920s, occupying the posts of Colonial Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the 1930s found him

Jon Foreman is a Chicago Daily News reporter and free-lance critic.

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shorn of all power except for that in his lungs as a member of Parliament.

The Churchill legend begins in this period. It depicts Churchill persistently warning a nation and government that failed to heed him about Hitler and the steady growth of Nazi power. His countrymen heard some of his best speeches, admired their style, and ignored the message.

It was not quite so simple, of course. Others spoke out against the Nazis, less eloquently but free of the mistrust that Churchill inspired in the eyes of a group of enemies that had grown thick since 1901; his inflamed speeches against Indian nationalism, and Gandhi in particular, lowered his credibility among many others who might have attended to his anti-German polemics.

The animosity against him was generally suspended with the outbreak of World War II and the fall of Western Europe. Churchill no longer was the waning eccentric but a resplendent symbol of resistance. He became Prime Minister in 1940, and his thundered words of defiance and castigation were a weapon as essential to the war effort as Spitfires and radar.

As opposition leader in the postwar era, and during a second term as Prime Minister in the 1950s, Churchill continued to express himself fully, as his speech at Fulton, Mo., inaugurating the cold war, testifies. He hoped fervently for a cemented Anglo-American alliance. He condemned Labour's Socialist domestic plans and its policy of disengagement from India and Palestine.

Churchill aged rapidly after his retirement in 1955. He was granted honorary American citizenship in 1963 but he was too enfeebled to make a celebratory journey to Washington. His last speech was a poignant message of acceptance and gratitude read by his son Randolph; for the last time he advocated strong ties between the United States and Britain. In his maiden speech in Parliament sixty-six years earlier, he had waxed enthusiastic about the glories of the English race. His theme never changed.

Churchill labored on all his speeches, often memorizing large portions of them. No British Theodore Sorensen furnished him with eloquence, but a battery of researchers assisted in the preparation of many of his books, particularly the later ones. The stately grandeur of the prose, however, is present throughout. More than anything else they plumb the depths of Churchill's love of country, empire and history. But the interconnections between Churchill's life and modern history make his written work more an extension of himself than posterity might have wished.

CATTLE

*My father would always come
back from the barn
as if he had been in conference.
He had farm in him the way
some men have pain.
Every night the feed, the one
thing to get him home straight.*

*Still, he was a one-armed man,
toting his bottle
like a book of hours.
And he could sleep standing.
Each year to kill those cattle
he had to drink a week in a day
to stay cold sober.*

Stanley Plumly

The injection of self—and the vividness and sparkle—were present from the beginning in Churchill's accounts of late 19th-century wars in India and Africa that he originally covered as a hybrid soldier-correspondent. Churchill also wrote celebrated biographies of his father, Lord Randolph, and his famous ancestor, Marlborough. Biases and heavy rhetoric in the lengthy tomes render them somewhat unreliable as good biography and history. More entertaining because of their pungency and brevity are the essays from the 1930s.

Churchill's six-volume pageants of the World Wars, *The World Crisis* and *The Second World War*, are probably his best-known works but not his crowning literary achievements. They are filled with the texts of letters and memoranda—the paper work of directing a war. These illuminate Churchill's views but retard the pace of narration. Nonetheless, brilliant summaries and scrutinies of events, leaders and battles establish their value.

Many scholars have criticized Churchill's last work, *A History of the English-Speaking Peoples*, the consummate expression of his lifelong thesis that the world has been enriched by England and her national progeny. In any case, its four volumes are a sweeping survey of the highlights of English history through the death of Victoria. Churchill writes from the top, examining a parade of Kings and Queens at the expense of social movements. American readers unfamiliar with England's past may have trouble distinguishing among the potentates but will enjoy the perceptive and sympathetic sections on America's Revolutionary and Civil Wars; Churchill was half-American, but this was his only work that dwelled on the United States.

Churchill wrote more when his political fortunes dipped than when he was riding high. He wrote to maintain a luxurious living standard and demanded

high sums for his books, magazine articles and broadcasts. Even the warmest Churchill devotee, though, may shrink from the \$2,500 price of the collected works (much of the proceeds will go to the Churchill Centenary Trust and Churchill College in Cambridge). Some will note that Churchill's books are in print in cheaper editions except for the dozen or so earliest.

Any scholar, however, will approve of the painstaking correction of the stylistic errors that cropped up in the earlier works. Churchill's mastery of English, for example, completely outdistanced his grasp of Latin and Greek, as sometimes is manifest in his inaccurate quotations. And these extend to English citations as well: in the first volume of *The World Crisis*, Churchill misquotes Housman's "On the idle hill of summer, sleepy with the flow of streams" as "sleepy with the sounds of streams."

Maps, notably in the fledgling books, tend to confuse rather than clarify. In fact, about 300 maps were remade for the collected works, either because of original geographical inaccuracies or changed spellings of locations. Writing early in the century, Churchill spelled Karachi as Currachee and Chile as Chili. In *The River War*, he writes confidently, "All these positions can be followed on the map." But a place called Selim in the text appears as Esselem in the maps. Churchill took little care in obtaining these, often borrowing from contemporary school atlases or other books of the period, such as Ian Hamilton's memoir, *Gallipoli Diary*. While revising outmoded or incorrect spelling and obstacles to geographical comprehension, however, the editors wisely retain old-fashioned but characteristic Churchillisms like "I am of opinion. . . ."

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The collected-works set comprises original editions except, unfortunately, for *The River War*. One regrets to find the 1933 third edition a pale abridgment of the first, tartly opinionated version of 1899. (Churchill expediently censored some of his works upon entering politics.)

No such flaw mars the volumes of collected speeches, from which the public Churchill emerges with great clarity. It seems astonishing that complete texts of nearly 80 per cent of Churchill's speeches had never before appeared between book covers. The highest praise for filling the gaps is due to a team of Columbia University graduate students that spent six months combing Parliamentary records and assorted newspapers, pamphlets, broadcast transcripts and party minutes. Robert Rhodes James edited the accumulated speeches, which take up nearly 9,000 pages in the eight volumes. He also supplies introductory essays to the four historical periods in which the speeches are grouped. However, there are no convenient chronologies of current events ushering in each address, as in the earlier collections edited by Randolph Churchill.

Even so, the scattered prefatory notes are revealing, especially about inconsistencies. In *The Gathering Storm*, for example, Churchill quoted from unpopular remarks he claimed to have made on December 3, 1936, in Albert Hall, about the abdication of Edward VIII. But eyewitnesses later reported that when Churchill was confronted with a walkout of attending notables, he desisted. James examines the evidence and omits the speech. Also absent, but without explanation, is a charming speech made on June 28, 1954, before the Washington, D.C. Press Club. Churchill called for peaceful coexistence with the Soviets, adding the hope, in the McCarthy era, that nobody would think him a Communist for doing so.

The researchers had to forgo assembling complete texts of many youthful orations after discovering incomplete reproductions in the Parliamentary record, *Hansard*, whose reporters sometimes confessed to finding Churchill's remarks inaudible. (*Hansard* went verbatim in 1911.) But what an elocutionary feast remains! All the pinnacles of a turbulent career are here: the condemnation of the Munich settlement, the promise of "blood, toil, tears and sweat," and the fateful iron curtain speech at Fulton. Indeed, the parts are engulfed by the whole in what turns out to be a sweeping chronicle of the major events of the first half of the century.

These speeches and the collected works do more than remind us that Churchill

was a gifted orator and writer. They increase our understanding of a matchlessly dramatic life; we watch its progress or recession in their pages. We learn more about the events that molded Churchill, his world and our own. Appearing in his centenary, these monumental works may even help to make Churchill fashionable again. □

Book Marks

CAREY McWILLIAMS

RIDING HIGH: America in the Cold War. By Carl Solberg. Mason & Lipscomb. 632 pp. \$12.50.

A good history of the cold war, in its domestic aspects, from the closing days of World War II to the signing of the nuclear test ban agreement. Excellent chapters on "The Korean War and McCarthyism," "Sputnik and American Education," "The Hidden Cost of the Marshall Plan and the Taming of American Labor," and "The Rise of the Military-Industrial Complex." Well-documented and carefully indexed.

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH: The Fallacy of Race. By Ashley Montagu. Oxford University Press. 542 pp. \$15.

The fifth edition of what is still the best general guide to man's most dangerous myth. Updated with excellent notes.

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS: Collected Essays of Fifty Years. By Corliss Lamont. Prometheus Books. 327 pp. \$10.

Humanist, philosopher, civil libertarian, Corliss Lamont has brought together in this volume a selection of his essays of the last fifty years. The essays fall into three categories: on the humanist philosophy (the author has been an active figure in the humanist movement for many years); on civil liberties; and on world peace and socialism. Of special interest: "The Enduring Impact of George Santayana"; an exchange with Henry Cabot Lodge, the author's classmate, on Vietnam; and an interview with Allende. Two epilogues, "My First Sixty Years" and "In Retrospect at Seventy-Two," suggest that Mr. Lamont, at long last, may decide to write his autobiography. How he came by his ideas, how he turned out to be a "voice in the wilderness," given his background, could be an absorbing and important volume and the time has come to write it.

CRUEL AND UNUSUAL JUSTICE. By Jack Newfield. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 205 pp. \$7.95.

When a reporter sets out to investigate courts and the criminal justice system, he had better be on guard: judges don't like to be criticized. It is a tribute to Newfield's courage and diligence that his findings on the criminal court system in New York have not been successfully challenged. The author is a *Nation* contributor.

MORTGAGE ON AMERICA. By Leonard Downie, Jr. Praeger Publishers. 243 pp. \$7.95.

Fine investigative reporting on a subject of prime importance: the real cost of real estate speculation. The author is a frequent *Nation* contributor.

FRAGMENTS OF THE CENTURY: A Social Autobiography. By Michael Harrington. Saturday Review Press/Dutton. 246 pp. \$7.95.

Despite the explicit subtitle and prologue, this most readable volume has been faulted because it does not have much to say about intimate aspects of the author's personal life. But Harrington set out to write not an autobiography in the usual sense but an essay on what might be called "The Education of Michael Harrington," and he properly keeps to his subject. Insightful, shrewd, perceptive and candid. The author is a frequent *Nation* contributor.

PATHS TO THE PRESENT: Thoughts on the Contemporary Relevance of America's Past. By Thomas J. Osborne and Fred R. Mabbutt. John Wiley & Sons. 164 pp. \$8.50.

Two young professors at Santa Ana College, in California, one a historian, the other a political scientist, have put together an interesting collection of their essays, combining historical insights with political assessments. The best essays are Mabbutt's on "Equality in America" and Osborne's on "American Populism Revisited." Mabbutt is a *Nation* contributor.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF DIXIE: The Southernization of America. By John Egerton. Harper's Magazine Press. 226 pp. \$7.95.

Egerton, a Nashville-based journalist who has contributed to *The Nation*, takes a close, sympathetic look at the process of social change in the South. Good reporting on a subject of importance.

BREZHNEV: The Masks of Power. By

John Dornberg. *Basic Books.* 317 pp. \$10.

For all that he is said to be an outgoing personality, little is known about Brezhnev. The author, an occasional *Nation* contributor, here gives as complete a picture as possible of the man and the leadership structure of the Soviet system.

TIGER IN THE COURT. By Paul Hoffman. *Playboy Press.* 260 pp. \$8.50.

A readable account of Herbert Stern's spectacular performance as U.S. Attorney in New Jersey, a subject about which Fred J. Cook has written for this magazine. Paul Hoffman is also a contributor to *The Nation*.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF LEE MACH. *MATU Publishers.* 116 pp. \$15.

Eighty-six reproductions of the work of Lee Mach, sculptor, painter and print-maker, with an interesting introduction. The social conscience of the artist finds reflection in much of her work. There are also excellent photographic reproductions.

THESE PRIESTS STAY: The American Catholic Clergy in Crisis. By Paul Wilkes. *Simon & Schuster.* 250 pp. \$6.95.

Paul Wilkes illuminates the problems behind the turmoil and conflict in the Church today through the life stories of ten priests who, despite their own struggles, have chosen not to defect. It is the author's contention that the mass defection of priests is the real crisis confronting the American Roman Catholic Church. The stories of these ten priests are told with tact, insight and intelligence. The author has contributed to *The Nation*.

WOMAN'S FATE: Raps from a Feminist Consciousness-Raising Group. By Claudia Dreifus. *Bantam Books.* 277 pp. \$1.25.

Some lively talk about consciousness-raising by a feminist group. The author is herself a feminist, and a *Nation* contributor.

INSANITY DEFENSE. By Richard Arens. Foreword by Harold D. Lasswell. *Philosophical Library.* 328 pp. \$12.50.

Intelligent discussion of the insanity defense, including an analysis of the *Durham* rule (1954), "the innovation that failed." *Durham* seemed to herald the dawn of a new day: punishment was no longer to be imposed for behavior which was the product of mental disorder. But it was not to be—at least not just yet—

and Dr. Arens, a *Nation* contributor, explains why.

DATELINE: AMERICA: Dispatch from an Altering Nation. By Bennett Kremen. *The Dial Press.* 244 pp. \$7.95.

A first-rate reporter, Bennett Kremen spent many months traveling around the country, living and working side by side with all kinds of Americans, seeking to discover how they feel about their country on the eve of the Republic's bicentennial. Included are reports on a visit to a steelworkers' local in South Chicago, a visit to Lordstown, to Yellow Springs, Ohio, where the author attended Antioch College—one of the best sections in the book—and a series of "cross-country slides," vivid, arresting and shrewdly perceived. Usually the difficulty with this kind of book is that the writing remains at the level of good reporting; this one cuts deeper and yields some genuine insights. The author is a *Nation* contributor.

FAMILY MEDICAL CARE: A Design for Health Maintenance. By Dr. George A. Silver. *Ballinger Publishing Co.* 344 pp. \$15.

The Nation's long-time consultant on

health insurance and related issues has put together an in-depth analysis of the problem of family medical care. Interesting chapters on "Emotional Health of the Family," "Symptoms, Illness, and Family Life," "The Doctor and Health Policies" and "Society, Technology and Medical Care." Dr. Silver, professor of Public Health, Yale University School of Medicine, formerly served as chief of the Division of Social Medicine at Montefiore Hospital, and, later, as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs at HEW during the Johnson administration.

THE TWISTED DREAM: Capitalist Development in the United States Since 1776. By Douglas Dowd. *Winthrop Publishers.* 315 pp. \$9.95. Paper \$5.95.

Today when the relevance of most economic models is in question and Keynesian economics have come home to roost, this excellent analysis of capitalist development in the United States by a distinguished Marxist economist and student of Veblen takes on added importance. Mr. Dowd begins his study by taking a hard look at the conventional models, particularly neoclassic economics, and stresses the need for a new political economy. The volume has excellent sec-

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tions, commendably free of jargon, on such subjects as the nature of capitalism; business as a system of power; growth and development; prosperity and depression; income, wealth and power; and imperialism, American-style. The author is a *Nation* contributor.

THE COMIC-STRIPPED AMERICAN.
By Arthur Asa Berger. Walker & Co.
225 pp. \$7.95.

The author, a student of pop culture, here takes a look at comic strips. What Dick Tracy, Blondie, Daddy Warbucks and Charlie Brown tell us about ourselves. Contains interesting insights on the differences between the first, second and third generations of comic books. The author is a *Nation* contributor. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

If I go to an art gallery—in this case it would be to the Marlborough Gallery—and look at the sculpture of Barbara Hepworth, my act is part of a particular context. I know that she is British, of the same generation as Henry Moore, and that like him she is an Abstract artist, though not a strict one. That is to say, their pieces carry references to idealized nature and are not generated on the basis of an internally consistent structure. For example, Hepworth's exhibition earlier this year was called "Conversations," which alerted one for correspondences between her hard-edged but organic forms and human states of some sort. Like Moore, she began as primarily a carver and, again like him, expanded her techniques to include modeling. However, their bronzes retain a good deal of the compactness of carving from stone, so that density, rather than weightlessness or arabesque, marks their cast pieces.

What happens, however, when one comes on a sculpture by Hepworth in a public space, such as her memorial to Dag Hammarskjöld in the grounds of the United Nations? Here she cannot count on the sympathetic knowledge which enables one to locate her art in a relevant cultural ambience. In the gallery I can see some of the reasons why her work looks as it does. At the U.N., under the great reflective slab of the building, her sculpture cannot rely on evoking the special knowledge that it is normal to possess in an art gallery. In fact, my own prior knowledge shrinks in usefulness as I witness the confrontation of her monument and the encompassing

architectural setting. And to spectators who do not start with the recognition of authorship, what does the sculpture mean? Modern sculpture does not become *public* merely by being set out of doors. To what extent can it be considered a public work, with a capacity to symbolize a public theme, or to what extent is it a regular Hepworth in an unexpected context?

One difficulty that faces modern sculpture out of doors, in the absence of an agreed-on public style, is that of scale. Hepworth's U.N. sculpture is 21 feet high and looks to be about the height of the row of rather straggly trees along the base of the building behind it. In a word, it looks small. The upright rounded planar form has human associations, especially since its head is pierced in the upper zone by a big circle, a device that we have learned to read in the iconography of Arp, Moore and Hepworth as an eye. However, this reading is hard to maintain on the site. Instead of a giant head (which theoretically could make an apt reference to the Secretary-General of the U.N. from 1953 to 1961) another image occurs, inconceivable in the privileged space of a gallery. It looks like a pierced ornament, a pendant worn by the primary form of the building: in which case the building becomes the head. The patina of the sculpture, treated by Hepworth so that a brassy display of metal should not conflict with the organicism of her imagery, suggests the texture of age. Against the bright green reflective façade of the building, her sculpture is dull green and scarred; the two greens engage the sculpture in a contest of new and old which confers exaggerated archaism on the sculpture.

This sculpture, called "Single Form," is, I think, a failure as a public work, which is not the same thing as saying it is a bad Hepworth. On the contrary I think it is a characteristic example of her style, conscientiously conceived, with dignity, and executed scrupulously. However, it is placed equivocally between the street, First Avenue, and the building. It is in a restricted area, off center in a fountain, in front of the building. The delegates' cars have to go round it every time they enter (a form of homage which would soon fade into habit) and from the street the largest profile is visible. It is a site that denies intimacy or impact and though the responsibilities for the siting of public sculpture are often divided among various uncooperative authorities, Hepworth has made an error either of siting or of scale. The work should have been closer to the flow of people or more grandiose.

The sculpture was unveiled by U Thant ten years ago and that is enough

time for the monument to have been accepted or forgotten. What does "accepted" mean in this public context? It means that it will have joined the form of the building itself and the flags that line the street and the ceremonial delays of the entrance as symbols. (The slab of the building signifies the U.N. vividly, as we know from countless media usages.) The sculpture however has not received that kind of currency as a signifier. This sculpture, like an Easter Island head flattened into the rippling flat plane of a sole, has not entered the realm of public symbols. It signifies neither Dag Hammarskjöld nor the U.N. as some kind of union. What the sculpture signifies is the presence of the artist: it is a Barbara Hepworth and that is the end of it.

This is one of the problems of modern public sculpture. It is a cluster of styles that developed no effective way to communicate with people at random. When pieces of modern art were first put into public places, it was taken as evidence of an increasing enlightenment among patrons and public. Most of the sculptors foresaw no difference between working for their usual habituated audience and for a general public unconditioned to admire them. The result is a series of works like Hepworth's "Single Form," conspicuous modern sculptures that either invoke hostility or become invisible through apathy. The Hepworth sculpture at the U.N. is in the latter class.

The failure of public sculpture is not so much the result of the brute public but of dumb artists. The German philosopher Max Bense has pointed out that "The path of a sign is simultaneously the path of its alteration." Thus, when a work of art is taken from the context of a gallery and shifted, enlarged but not otherwise changed much, as in the case of "Single Form," its value as a sign changes. Formal statements are highly satisfactory in a social context that is compatible with them (like a gallery), but displaced to the crowded and intricate communication system of the city they are fragile. Hepworth's problem is that of the majority of modern sculptors whose technical training enables them to work at a public scale but whose aesthetic inhibits their capacity to signify public issues in readable visual forms. In a sense, it is a failure of sociability. □

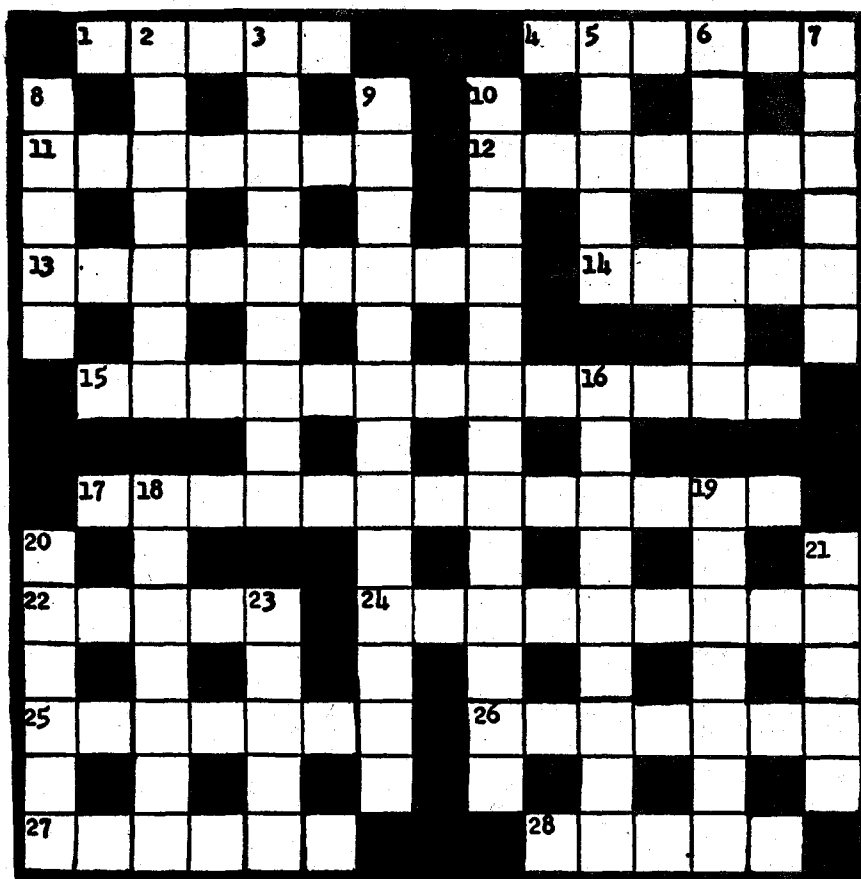
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Crossword Puzzle No. 1552

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Is it convenient to consider him an early worker with the blues? (5)
- 4 See 8 down
- 11 Tosca's villain leaves a mark on the front of the piano. (7)
- 12 To raise a family is also to raise a problem. (5,2)
- 13 Imitation is supposed to mark the most sincere one. (9)
- 14 Take off the tape, perhaps. (5)
- 15 Not necessarily someone like Atlas—he should be more sophisticated. (3-2-3-5)
- 17 Such an attitude wouldn't help when you're supposed to say "Ahhh!" (6-2-5)
- 22 One might be good, in part. (5)
- 24 Much less than the dollar recovery, this is where the heart of the matter should be found. (9)
- 25 They might be numbered like baseball teams, and seen out of position. (7)
- 26 Thurber's was not the common garden variety. (7)
- 27 Accent implying a certain amount of tension. (6)
- 28 Eat a lot? Without English capital one would get to eat nothing! (5)

DOWN

- 2 In the south, there's a place for scientists with a higher degree. (7)
- 3 One can't get out without one! (9)
- 5 One is disturbed by it, quite logically! (5)

- 6 A bird dog might on seeing one. (7)
- 7 Saw what Jack reputedly was? (6)
- 8 and 4 across Biblical antidote for madness? (1,4,6)
- 9 What the overburdened do? One shouldn't go far like this! (5,2,6)
- 10 One might have been a U.S. garden variety as a seemingly foreign breed. (8-5)
- 16 Were his to change, it would be obviously different. (9)
- 18 See 20 down
- 19 Where fish might be found and put to sleep. (3-4)
- 20 and 18 What the laundress might use if she washes and sprinkles more frequently. (5,8)
- 21 In some church services they're certainly not hers, we hear. (5)
- 23 Cuts out the inside of the paper. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1551

ACROSS: 1 and 6 Repeating rifle; 9 Man-hunt; 10 Round-up; 11, 26 and 12 One-armed bandit; 13 Dope; 15 Averages; 16 Grates; 18 and 28 Dante's Inferno; 20 Executed; 23 User; 24 Dewlap; 25 and 22 Sealed off; 29 Reclaim; 30 Tolls; 31 Farmstead. DOWN: 1 and 15 Romeo and Juliet; 2 Pinkeye; 3 Adumbrated; 4 Intended; 5 Garlic; 6 Roue; 7 Fade-out; 8 Expressed; 14 Precipices; 17 Explorer; 19 Needful; 21 Testate; 27 Irks.

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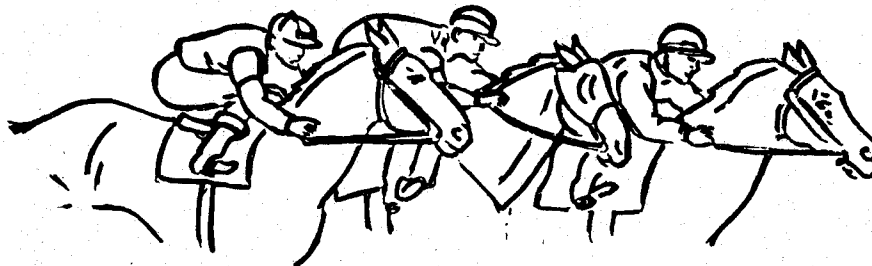
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THE NATION

comes in first...



*...and the
others
follow*

Here are 5 cases where The NATION was out front, while other publications trailed behind.

CASE NO. 1

May 28, 1973: The NATION runs Joseph C. Goulden's "Warming Up For Watergate" with 1962 as starting point.

Aug. 16, 1973: The VILLAGE VOICE runs "Prelude to Watergate—The Time Frame Was 1962," by Tom de Vries.

CASE NO. 2

Sept. 21, 1970: The NATION runs "Richard Nixon, Theologian" by Charles P. Henderson, Jr.

July 3, 1972: The NEW YORK TIMES features "Mr. Nixon's Theology" by Charles P. Henderson, Jr.

CASE NO. 3

Mar. 12, 1973: The NATION publishes a serious analysis of a growing trend, "Dinner Theatres" by Jerome Landfield.

Nov. 11, 1973: The WASHINGTON STAR-NEWS discovers dinner theatres in a piece by Nicholas Howey, "Whither Chowbiz?"

CASE NO. 4

Mar. 16, 1974: The NATION spotlights "Hawaii Without the Pineapple" by Mary Alice Kellogg.

Apr. 11, 1974: The WALL ST. JOURNAL's staff reporter, Herbert G. Lawson, covers the same story "End of an Era; The Pineapple Industry in Hawaii Sours"

CASE NO. 5

Feb. 19, 1973: The NATION prints John Grady's blast, "Administrative Discharges: The 'Less Than Honorable' Solution."

July 8, 1973: Washington's THE SUNDAY STAR and DAILY NEWS runs "Rethinking the 'Bad Discharge' System," by Raymond P. Boulanger.

Time after time, an ice-breaking article appears in The NATION, America's oldest weekly, edited by Carey McWilliams.

Weeks, months, and even years later, a curiously similar story appears somewhere else.

How come? How does The NATION get out there first? Syndicated columnist Nicholas von Hoffman puts it this way:

"Other editors try to find out what the trend of the moment is and then get with it; McWilliams does not cash in on trends—he makes them."

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